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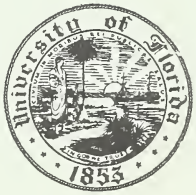

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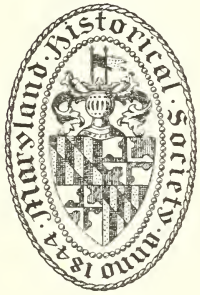

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BALTIMORE

1947

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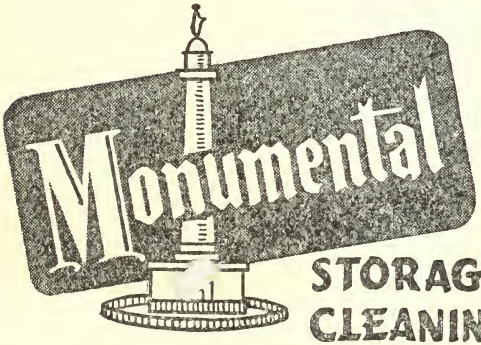

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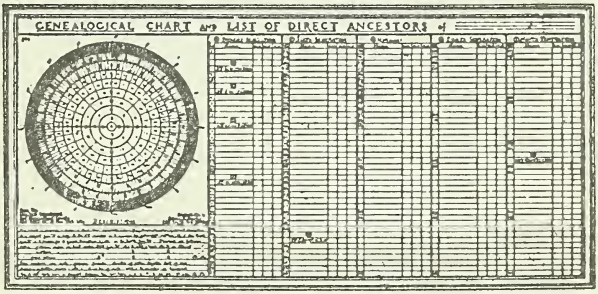

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A Quarterly

Volume XLII MARCH, 1947 Number 1

HERBERT B. ADAMS AND SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

By Wendell H. Stephenson

N the last quarter of the nineteenth century the writing of history in the United States was undergoing profound changes.[1] The great literary historians, whose craftsmanship brought recognition of their wares, were passing from the scene; and a new era, with the college professor in the ascendancy, witnessed a radical departure in the treatment of the past. Monographic history became the order of the day. The new approach was impartial and supposedly scientific; the result was history that approximated truth but which, as critics said, was formless and dry as dust. Researchers consulted a multiplicity of sources in investigating local institutions and other minutiae, critically evalu-

[1] Research for this study, begun in 1939, was completed in 1944-1945 while the writer held a grant from the General Education Board, to whom thanks are gratefully acknowledged.

ated the evidence, cited authorities, and cast their findings in unliterary molds.

Other chroniclers than the literary masters antedated the " scientific " school and the dominance of the document. History was largely the avocational interest of clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and soldiers. They recorded both fact and fancy, a medley of reality and tradition. In the South in particular there were few if any literary luminaries preserving the past for posterity.[2] Histories of several southern states appeared in ante-bellum years and some historical societies were established, a few of which began to assemble and publish records. But, for the most part, Southerners were too busy defending their institutions and political and social creeds to become seriously interested in preserving records and in writing history. When the War for Southern Independence became a lost cause, sundry participants endeavored, through memoirs, reminiscences, and apologias, to justify secession and a resort to arms and to parade military achievements of the Confederacy. State historical societies were revived or newly established, and Confederate veterans organized the Southern Historical Society which began a series of monthly publications.[3] A renaissance in state histories as well as in historical societies developed in postwar years. Yet postwar historical activity, like ante-bellum, was amateurish and unsystematic.

Critical and systematic study of history in the United States, it has long been recognized, began in the closing years of the nineteenth century, with the founding of the American Historical Association in 1884 as one of the early landmarks. Historians have also recognized Herbert Baxter Adams and his activities at the Johns Hopkins University as factors in the origin of a " scientific " school. Only recently have they come to appreciate the contributions of Adams and the Hopkins to the beginnings of southern historical scholarship.[4]

In a broader perspective the Hopkins was a significant factor in promoting a southern revival of learning in sundry fields of knowl-

[2] A possible exception to this statement was Charles E. A. Gayarré, whose *History of Louisiana,* 4 vols. (New York, 1854-1866), possessed considerable literary charm.

[3] *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, 1876-1910; 1914—).

[4] See Wendell H. Stephenson, " A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935—), XI (1945), 4-8.

edge. While its influence on educational development in the South was recognized at the turn of the century, it has all but been forgotten in recent years. The editor of the *Southern History Association Publications* observed in 1901 that the school was "*The Greatest Southern University*, if we understand by that term an institution devoting a large part of its strength to post graduate instruction." [5] Upon the retirement of Daniel C. Gilman as president of the University about the same time, the *Sewanee Review* said that the southern states' "educational history for the past quarter of a century has been largely that of the Johns Hopkins University. It is rare, indeed, to find at the South any college of note whose faculty has not been drawn largely from Baltimore, to say nothing of the impetus given everywhere to original research and to the publications of the results of such investigations." [6]

The South recovered slowly from the disastrous effects of Civil War and Reconstruction. Despite a few signs of an educational renaissance, institutions of higher learning, many of them dating from ante-bellum days, were still bound by the chains of poverty. The founding of the generously endowed Hopkins in 1876 provided an academic haven for students from the impoverished South. As one writer put it in 1900, while "the old and dismantled universities of the South were struggling to regain their vigor," the "newly created and fresh young leader, whom they soon learned to regard not as their rival, but as their inspiration and examplar," found her great opportunity.[7] The donor recognized the southern need for assistance, and requested in his will

[5] Colyer Meriwether, in *Southern History Association Publications* (Washington, 1897-1907), V (1901), 448.

[6] Burr J. Ramage, in *Sewanee Review* (Sewanee, 1892——), IX (1901), 379. It is possible that the first part of this statement is an exaggeration. By 1896 sixteen colleges and universities south of Mason and Dixon's Line had the following numbers of Hopkins students on their faculties: Woman's College of Baltimore, 10; University of the South, 8; Vanderbilt University, 6; Davidson College, 5; Louisiana State University, St. Johns College, and Wake Forest College, 4 each; Central University, Georgetown College, University of Georgia, Richmond College, University of South Carolina, University of Texas, Trinity College, Tulane University, and University of Virginia, 3 each. "A Survey of the Resources of the Johns Hopkins University in 1896," a forty-page supplement to the *Twenty-First Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1896* (Baltimore, 1896), Supplement, 12-15.

[7] New York *Evangelist*, March 29, 1900, reprinted in Johns Hopkins University *Circulars* (Baltimore), XX, No. 149 (January, 1901), 23. A portion of the statement also appeared in *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1901* (Baltimore, 1901), 31-32.

that the trustees establish scholarships for candidates from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina who possessed " character and intellectual promise." [8]

By 1886, a decade after the school was established, 235 men from these states had received free tuition, and 150 of them had been honored as Hopkins Scholars. According to the President's *Report* of that year, 419 students were enrolled from Maryland, nearly half of the student body. Virginia sent 26, North Carolina 24, Kentucky 18, the District of Columbia 15, and other southern states lesser numbers. " Very few Baltimoreans," it was asserted, " now go away from home to obtain a college education." [9] During the first twenty-three years of the University's life, Maryland contributed 1,455 students, and the whole South approximately 2,000 out of a total of 3,600. Dr. James C. Ballagh, instructor in the department of history, economics, and politics, exulted in 1900 that the founding of the Hopkins had " checked the exodus of youth to foreign universities—a custom dating from colonial times at the South—by offering them not only equal facilities, but a training more American and more suited to our Southern needs." He pointed out that during " the past year 239 out of a total of 465 advanced students have been enrolled from the South." And, by the end of the century, some two hundred Hopkins-trained men were teaching in southern states, and a like number were engaged in other professions or in business.[10]

The original faculty of the University drew heavily from the South, and by 1900 at least forty members—approximately a third of the whole—were " of Southern origins or connections." " This result, though without design," Ballagh asserted, " shows the broad liberality that governs the administration, and the creative work the University is doing for the South as well as for the rest of the country." [11]

[8] *Eleventh Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1886* (Baltimore, 1886), 16. For a sketch of the University's founder, see Broadus Mitchell, " Johns Hopkins," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1944), IX, 213-14.

[9] *Eleventh Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1886*, pp. 13, 16.

[10] New York *Evangelist*, March 29, 1900, reprinted in Johns Hopkins University *Circulars*, XX, No. 149 (January, 1901), 23. The figures in this paragraph must be discounted, as it cannot be assumed that all residents of Maryland and other states south of the Line were actually Southerners.

[11] *Ibid.*

If these expressions of indebtedness were true for the University as a whole, they were just as valid, perhaps more so, when applied to history and allied fields in particular. In appraising Adams' work near the close of his career, the *Sewanee Review* emphasized " the interest he has everywhere aroused in American history, and the publications which may be traced directly to his inspiration." While all parts of the nation had profited in these premises, no section " owes to the accomplished Director of the Historical Department of the Johns Hopkins University a heavier debt of gratitude than the Southern States. It is scarcely too much to say that the present interest this section manifests in history is contemporaneous with Dr. Adams. . . . And the occupant of many a chair of history at the various colleges of the South must always remember Dr. Adams as one who first taught him the true meaning of human progress, as well as the vital necessity of unceasing toil and publication." [12] Burr J. Ramage, Hopkins doctor of philosophy and professor of law at the University of the South, declared in 1901 that the growing interest in southern history paralleled Adams' stimulating influence, " and in this regard that section owes him a lasting debt of gratitude. He never failed to call attention to the importance of preserving ancient records and letters, whilst the tardy activity of more than one commonwealth south of the Potomac in such matters as manuscript commissions, as well as the growing number of books devoted to southern history, may be traced in no small measure to . . . [his] influence." [13]

There was nothing in Adams' nativity or training to foreshadow a contribution to southern historical scholarship. He was born in 1850 at Shutesbury, Massachusetts, not far from Amherst. After graduating with honor at Phillips Exeter Academy in 1868, he entered Amherst College and received the bachelor's degree as valedictorian a quadrennium later. His fate was decided, he said, by a lecture on the philosophy of history by President Julius H. Seelye who remarked " that history was the grandest study in the world." Following a year as teacher of classical history, mathematics, Latin, and Greek at Williston Seminary, Adams began an

[12] *Sewanee Review*, VIII (1900), 248.

[13] Burr J. Ramage, " Professor Herbert Baxter Adams," in *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends, with a Bibliography of the Department of History, Politics and Economics of the Johns Hopkins University, 1876-1901* (Baltimore, 1902), 63.

eventful three-year period abroad. He studied French at Lausanne, tarried a few months at Rome and Paris, and entered Heidelberg University in January, 1874. He mastered the German language in the home of Dr. Emil Otto, studied politics with Heinrich von Treitschke, Roman history with Wilhelm Ihne, and German philosophy and literature with Kuno Fischer. Treitschke's removal to the University of Berlin probably caused his own migration there for the winter semester of 1874-1875. A necessity for economy required a return to Heidelberg where he completed the doctorate under the direction of Johann K. Bluntschli. This eminent political scientist exerted a profound influence upon his student. Scientifically trained by able German scholars, Adams returned to the United States in 1876 to accept a postdoctoral fellowship at the newly established Johns Hopkins University.[14]

For the next quarter of a century Adams labored at the Hopkins to train students in scientific methodology, to inspire productive scholarship, to assemble a collection of historical materials, and to locate Hopkins men in responsible positions where they could establish "colonies" of the parent school. All of these objects were related in a mosaic. As so many southern men received their graduate training under Adams and his colleagues, it is appropriate to describe both mental stimulus and physical properties.

The hub of the department was, of course, the Director, whose office served as editorial headquarters of the *Studies in Historical and Political Science* and the *Contributions to American Educational History*, and whose prestige in the historical guild was enhanced by his position as secretary of the American Historical Association. As a productive scholar his major interest was institutional history. Two of his more significant monographs lay in the southern field: *The College of William and Mary* (1887) and *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (1888), published in the *Contributions* series. These studies of institutions of higher learning in Virginia provided a pattern for other scholars in evaluating educational development in the United States.

[14] For biographical data, see John M. Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams, A Biographical Sketch," *ibid.*, 9-23; Richard T. Ely, "A Sketch of the Life and Services of Herbert Baxter Adams," *ibid.*, 27-49; John M. Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams," in Howard W. Odum (ed.), *American Masters of Social Science* (New York, 1927), 97-127, a rewriting of Vincent's earlier sketch; John S. Bassett, "Herbert Baxter Adams," in Johnson and Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 69-71.

What were the qualities of the man responsible for systematic study of American history and the first graduate work in that subject that attracted southern scholars? Colleagues and students at the Hopkins, almost without exception, spoke of his inspiration and infectious enthusiasm. John M. Vincent, who succeeded him as head of the department, said that Adams' success did not emanate from profound lectures, though they were " sound and interesting." Rather his genius lay in " continually pointing to more work to be done, more fields to be cultivated and more reputations to be made." The successes of former graduate students, whether in publications or promotions, were paraded before their successors with hortatory effect. " Such things as these men did were within the reach of the young aspirant, and the effect was to spur every man to do something worthy of that company. . . . The results were unequal, but the inspiration was universal and lasting." [15] Adams' colleague in economics, Richard T. Ely, " soon discovered that capacity for leadership, for rallying men about him "; he gave Adams " credit for inventiveness in large plans and boldness in the execution of them "; he spoke of " his insight, his genius, in discovering talent where others did not see it." [16]

Student appraisals were in substantial agreement. A provocative statement by Adams in 1888, indicating that former Hopkins students had exhausted local institutions, " the chief remaining opportunity for constructive work in American history," and that the European field would now provide topics for investigation, was a factor that prompted Frederick J. Turner to write " The Significance of the Frontier in American History." [17] But he conceded that Adams gave him " an added enthusiasm for historical research and a definite desire to relate history to the present. . . . His greatest power did not lie in keenness of scholarship nor in the critical character of his investigations; but I have never seen a man who could surpass him in inspiring men with enthusiasm for serious historical work." [18] Virginia-born Woodrow Wilson took

[15] Vincent, " Herbert B. Adams," in *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends*, 21.
[16] Ely, " A Sketch of the Life and Services of Herbert Baxter Adams," *ibid.*, 35, 41-42.
[17] Frederick J. Turner to William E. Dodd, October 7, 1919, in William E. Dodd Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington. See also, Wendell H. Stephenson, " The Influence of Woodrow Wilson on Frederick Jackson Turner," in *Agricultural History* (Chicago, Baltimore, 1927—), XIX (1945), 252.
[18] Quoted in Ely, " A Sketch of the Life and Services of Herbert Baxter Adams," in *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends*, 45.

the doctorate at the Hopkins and later returned annually to give a series of lectures. Despite a critical attitude toward his mentor, Wilson sensed his points of strength. " If I were to sum up my impression of Dr. Adams," he recalled, " I should call him a great Captain of Industry, a captain in the field of systematic and organized scholarship. I think all his pupils would accord him mastery in the formulation of historical inquiry, in the suggestive stimulation of research, in the communication of methods and ideals. His head was a veritable clearing house of ideas in the field of historical study, and no one ever seriously studied under him who did not get, in its most serviceable form, the modern ideals of work upon the sources. . . . The thesis work done under him may fairly be said to have set the pace for university work in history throughout the United States." [19]

In evaluating Adams' contributions after the lapse of a half century it should be noted that he was one of the American pioneers who employed the seminar or laboratory method. Instruction was given in various fields of history, politics, and economics through series of lectures by resident professors and visiting scholars, but the system's core was the " Seminary of History and Politics," often referred to as " Adams' Seminary." Embracing the department's teaching staff and twenty-five to fifty graduate students, it assembled on Friday evenings for two hours in the Bluntschli Library, a room on the third floor of McCoy Hall fitted up with cases, tables, and desks. The physical properties of this " laboratory " promoted a scholarly atmosphere. Tables were covered with magazines of history, economics, and politics; cases contained books and manuscripts of Bluntschli, Edouard Laboulaye, and Francis Lieber; cases and walls were lined with busts and pictures of statesmen and historians. A special shelf was reserved for publications of former seminar students, and there was a complete file of the University *Studies* and the *Contributions to American Educational History*.[20] Motivation was a work of

[19] Quoted *ibid.*, 46.

[20] Herbert B. Adams, *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities* (Washington, 1887), 171-99, including pictures and floor plan of the Historical Seminary; *The Johns Hopkins University . . . Register for 1896-97* (Baltimore, 1897), 100-108; Vincent, " Herbert B. Adams," in Odum (ed.), *American Masters of Social Science*, 106-108; W. Stull Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938), 18.

genius: with classes " friendly conferences amid an environment of books," with portraits of eminent scholars to emphasize " the character of a family gallery or the congenial familiarity of a social club," and with the stimulating effect of books published by predecessors in the seminar—it is entirely understandable how students at the Hopkins became fired with enthusiasm.[21] Usually an evening would be devoted to a single report, followed by discussion. Occasionally a bifurcated program would be arranged, particularly when an off-campus scholar was available. There was a generous sprinkling of southern subjects presented. Ordinarily a student made but one report a year, though an unusually industrious researcher might give two, and once, in 1887-1888, William P. Trent reported three times. The secretaryship of the seminar rotated among the students, and the carefully prepared minutes recorded the findings of embryo historians, political scientists, and economists.[22]

Other rooms in McCoy Hall were provided for students in European history, economics, jurisprudence, and comparative politics, each with appropriate books and portraits of outstanding scholars. A main lecture room served larger classes and also housed the department's archeological museum, embracing collections of ancient implements, Lake Dwellers' relics, Egyptian antiquities, and Greek and Roman coins. Corridors housed government documents, Alaskan artifacts, and assemblages of barbaric weapons and Indian relics.[23]

Of more significance in the present study was the southern history room.[24] The Hopkins was established by a Southerner in a city that was southern in many of its attributes. Because southern scholars found the University a hospitable academic environment, a collection of materials on the literature and history of the southern region eventually developed. The year 1891 witnessed the acquisition of two valuable collections. Books and pamphlets relating to slavery, assembled by James G. Birney and his son, General William Birney of Washington, were pre-

[21] *Johns Hopkins University . . . Register for 1896-97*, p. 105; Vincent, " Herbert B. Adams," in Odum (ed.), *American Masters of Social Science*, 124-25.

[22] Johns Hopkins University Historical Seminary Records, 1877-1901, in Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore. The first volume covers the period, 1877-1892; the second, 1892-1901.

[23] *Johns Hopkins University . . . Register for 1896-97*, pp. 105-107.

[24] *Ibid.*, 106.

sented to the University. At the time this was said to be the largest collection of material on the subject.[25] Probably as a result of the Birney gift,[26] and following close on its heels, Colonel J. Thomas Scharf of Baltimore gave the University his collection of Americana. It embraced " some 50,000 pamphlets especially on Southern history, the files of fifteen or more Confederate newspapers for all or portions of the Civil War period, 3000 broadsides, a large assortment of the papers of important private citizens, and a mass of official Maryland records." [27] " I have long noted with regret," the donor wrote in presenting his gift, " how imperfectly the history, general and local, of the Southern States has been written, and the fact that this imperfection has been largely due to the absence or inaccessibility of material. No great collection of Southern historical documents exists. It is my hope that the Johns Hopkins University, founded by a Southern man in a Southern city, may see the way to do for the South what Northern universities have done for the North, and become the general repository for Southern history." [28]

Adams himself added to the southern collection by contributing from his personal library sundry books and pamphlets on literature as well as history, on one occasion in the late 1890's donating a hundred volumes. About the same time a former student, Stephen B. Weeks, presented some works on North Carolina history. In 1900 Adams gave the University his whole library, comprising some 3,600 bound volumes and an equal number of pamphlets. At the turn of the century the Hopkins library exceeded a hundred thousand volumes and housed about that number of pamphlets. What proportion of its holdings represented history cannot be

[25] Birney thought of giving his collection to the American Historical Association, but correspondence with Adams resulted in presentation to the Johns Hopkins University Library. See William Birney to Herbert B. Adams, January 12, 1891, in Herbert Baxter Adams Correspondence, Johns Hopkins University Library.

[26] Birney to Adams, May 8, 1891, *ibid.* Birney wrote: " I am glad to learn that Col. Scharf has presented his historical collection to the Johns Hopkins University, and I am much gratified by your assurance that my donation may have led to his. Let us hope that the two examples may be followed by many owners of historical papers and documents." He added that he was aware of Scharf's reputation " as ' a very good rebel.' "

[27] W. Stull Holt, " John Thomas Scharf," in Johnson and Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 420. See also, for the Birney and Scharf collections, *Sixteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1891* (Baltimore, 1891), 14-17.

[28] Quoted in William K. Boyd, " Southern History in American Universities," in *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1902—), I (1902), 240.

known, but a few years earlier the library boasted 18,000 volumes and 50,000 pamphlets in that category.[29] By the end of Adams' period there must have been a few thousand volumes on the South, in addition to manuscripts and pamphlets.[30] Interest in this field soon lapsed, and several years passed before other universities in the South began to build up southern collections.

Although the Hopkins had been in existence for over a score of years before formal courses in southern history were organized, from the very beginning of "Adams' Seminary" students had been investigating local institutions and political and economic problems in the South.[31] They reported upon them in the seminar, and many of their monographs were published in the University *Studies*. As interest in the southern region grew, Adams provided special lectures in that field. In the 1890-1891 session, J. Franklin Jameson, who received the doctorate at the Hopkins in 1882, gave ten lectures on "the Constitutional and Political History of the Southern States." A decade later David F. Houston, then of the University of Texas, lectured upon aspects of the doctrine of nullification, and in 1901 John S. Bassett gave a series of three lectures on the Negro.[32]

Meanwhile, in the second semester of the 1897-1898 session, Ballagh inaugurated the first systematic course in the history of the South. It was described as "*Southern Economic History*, with eight graduate students, one hour weekly. . . . The economic development of the South from 1607 to 1860 was illustrated by

[29] *Eighteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1893* (Baltimore, 1893), 89; *Nineteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1894* (Baltimore, 1894), 113; *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1898* (Baltimore, 1898), 89; *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1899* (Baltimore, 1899), 88, 94; *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1900* (Baltimore, 1900), 97, 99; *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1901*, pp. 26, 109; *Johns Hopkins University . . . Register for 1896-97*, p. 105.

[30] The librarian reported as early as 1892 that the collection of materials on southern history embraced 3,000 volumes. *Seventeenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1892* (Baltimore, 1892), 85.

[31] Johns Hopkins University Seminary Records, 1877-1901, *passim*.

[32] *Sixteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1891* (Baltimore, 1891), 10, 60; *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1901*, p. 81; John S. Bassett to Adams, June 21, October 23, November 14, December 15, 1899; April 1, November 2, 1900, in Adams Correspondence; Bassett to John M. Vincent, February 5, 1900; January 15, 1901, *ibid*.

special lectures on Agriculture, the Land System, Labor System, Staple Products, Extensive Cultivation, the Plantation System, and the Industrial Organization of each of the Colonies. The influence of customary and statute law, physical environment, political and commercial relations at home and abroad was also indicated." This course was supplemented by a weekly "*Conference on Southern History*," with an enrollment of seven graduate students. They were instructed in the use of the Birney and Scharf collections and materials available in the Peabody Library, the Maryland Historical Society, and the Enoch Pratt Free Library. The purpose of the conference, Ballagh said, "was to encourage coöperative research in the southern field." [33] Under his direction students not only investigated topics in the history of the South but also compiled, over a period of years, "a descriptive bibliography of manuscript sources and research work in southern history." [34]

From 1898 until 1903 Ballagh gave either the course or the conference, sometimes both. In the 1900-1901 session he taught southern history to eight graduates. "The lectures were the result of original research," the description indicated, "and discussed the development of the land and labor systems of the American colonies; the peculiarities of Southern economic development and their bearing upon political history in the questions of the tariff, slavery, public lands and improvements; the creation and material development of the territory in the Southwest and West attached to the Old South; the influence of Southern agriculture upon incipient commerce and manufactures, etc. . . . The sources for original work in this field were pointed out to the class, and researches in phases of the history of Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina were prosecuted by members of the class." [35]

Beginning in the fall of 1903 and continuing until 1913 when he resigned to accept a professorship at the University of Pennsylvania, Ballagh alternated a course in the "History of American

[33] *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1898*, pp. 63-64.

[34] *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the President* [*of the Johns Hopkins University*] . . . *1903* (Baltimore, [1903]), 56. Sometime during the 1902-1903 session, George Petrie of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute "exhibited his collection of the manuscripts of William L. Yancey to the students and discussed their use." *Ibid.*

[35] *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1901*, p. 83.

Slavery" with another in the "History of Secession in the United States."[36] In his seminar in American history, students investigated southern topics, and some able men, as Douglas S. Freeman and H. J. Eckenrode, presented dissertations in that field. With Ballagh's departure from the University, interest in southern history disappeared. Presentation of courses on the South in the 1890's and the early years of the twentieth century were an important integrant in the development of southern historical scholarship. Offerings in southern history began to multiply, slowly at first and then more rapidly, until by the 1920's thirty or forty schools were presenting aspects or periods of the history of the South.[37] By 1940 more than a hundred colleges and universities offered one or more courses in southern history.

It should be noted also that, with few exceptions, Adams-trained men were productive scholars. He himself established a modest publication record, but productivity was not responsible for his reputation among a growing clientele. His contribution lay in the spirit of scientific research that permeated Hopkins students. They became saturated with an enthusiastic zeal for research and writing. Of the scores of former students—many of them in southern institutions—who corresponded with Adams, a large proportion wrote about the projects they had under way, the discovery of source materials that would promote research, or the problem of publishing a completed manuscript. Frequently they apologized for lack of productivity, with heavy teaching loads and other routine duties as an explanation.[38] "In the field of Southern historical writing," said the editor of the *Southern History Association Publications*, "it would not be far from accurate to say that Doctor Adams gave that great and greatly neglected subject almost the first well directed impulse that it had ever received."[39]

One has only to peruse the volumes of the Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science* from their origin in 1883 to understand the importance of southern history as

[36] See *Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1904* (Baltimore, 1904), 61; and the *Report* for each year to 1913. Occasionally neither course was offered.

[37] Wendell H. Stephenson, "History of the South in Colleges and Universities, 1925-1926," in *Historical Outlook* (title varies, Philadelphia, 1909—), XVII (1926), 319-22.

[38] Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, passim*; and sundry letters in the Adams Correspondence not included in the Holt volume.

[39] *Southern History Association Publications*, V (1901), 501.

a field of research. Perhaps half a hundred monographs in the first nineteen volumes treated southern subjects, with an increasing proportion of space devoted to the field as time passed. A complete bibliography of the writings of Hopkins students and faculty members during the last quarter of the nineteenth century is even more revealing. The astounding factor is the volume of productivity. It required 158 printed pages to list articles, monographs, and books of the group, together with brief academic notes about the authors.[40] Of the total output a larger proportion than one might suppose dealt with the history of the southern region. Analyzing the compilation in 1902, William K. Boyd, then a graduate student at Columbia University, found that "fifty-three Southern members of the Department of History have written 748 monographs, books or articles, of which 316 have been specifically on the South, while non-Southern men have written 51 articles in addition upon the South." He concluded that "Such a record is one to be honored in any field of research, especially in one so important and long neglected." [41]

Despite the volume of productivity by Hopkins men in the southern field, historical scholarship in the South was still in its infancy. Much of the writing down to 1901 was superficial; many of the articles were extremely local in nature and represented little investigation; and a considerable proportion of the monographs published in the *Studies* and elsewhere were based upon meager sources of information. Like their colleagues in the North, southern men belonged to that incipient "scientific" school that emphasized historical accuracy rather than acceptable diction. If they presented little interpretation or avoided legitimate use of imagination, they were following inexorable precepts of the new technique. If they utilized limited sources, it was partly because there were few great manuscript or printed collections for them to draw upon. If they misquoted or miscited authorities, they were guilty of the same faults that still afflict the profession in the 1940's. In evaluating their work, it should be remembered that they were pioneers in a new approach. But when all these imperfections are indicated, the fact remains that a serious beginning had been made toward systematic and critical treatment of the South's past.

[40] Bibliographical section of *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends*, 3-160.
[41] Boyd, "Southern History in American Universities," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 241.

The increasing number of Hopkins graduate students in history, political science, and economics from the South resulted from several factors, among them the conviction that Baltimore was a southern city, the objective approach to the study of the subjects, and the large number of fellowships available to residents of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. The most tangible of these factors was, of course, financial aid; the most substantial, the opportunity to study local institutions and other problems under competent and impartial direction. One has only to call the roll of Southerners trained in history and allied social studies at the Hopkins to understand how significant was the University's influence on the South. Among those who received the doctorate before Adams' death, and then did creditable work in the South, were Benjamin W. Arnold, James C. Ballagh, John S. Bassett, Charles H. Brough, Julian A. C. Chandler, William S. Drewry, Samuel E. Forman, Guy C. Lee, Alvin F. Lewis, Henry R. McIlwaine, John H. T. McPherson, Colyer Meriwether, George Petrie, Burr J. Ramage, Daniel R. Randall, Franklin L. Riley, Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, Enoch W. Sikes, St. George L. Sioussat, Francis E. Sparks, Bernard C. Steiner, Charles C. Weaver, and Stephen B. Weeks. Still other Southerners enrolled at the Hopkins who did not complete work for the doctorate but whose names are written, some large and some small, in the register of southern historical scholarship. Among them were Henry E. Chambers, Shirley C. Hughson, Edward Ingle, Charles E. Jones, and William P. Trent. Walter H. Page held a fellowship at the Hopkins from 1876 to 1878 and studied the classics with Basil L. Gildersleeve, but his publications were listed in the bibliography of Adams' department. And because of their influence on the South and their interest in the region, the names of Woodrow Wilson and J. Franklin Jameson should not be ignored.

Several of these Hopkins students left a considerable impress upon historical scholarship in the South.[42] Bassett and Trent were most versatile in their interests and accomplishments. Both were southern liberals, extremely dissatisfied with intellectual back-

[42] Notes on Hopkins men have been compiled from sketches in Johnson and Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography, passim*; the bibliographical section of *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends*, 3-160; *Who Was Who in America . . . 1897-1942* (Chicago, 1942), *passim; Who's Who in America* (Chicago, 1897—), XXIII (1944), *passim*; and the private papers of several of them.

wardness in the region, and each founded a quarterly magazine to provide a forum of liberal thought and literary criticism. While serving as professor of history and English at the University of the South in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Trent wrote some notable books on southern leaders, inventoried the South's belated beginnings in preserving records and in writing history, and gave the *Sewanee Review* a character and reputation that made it a dynamic magazine. For a dozen years, beginning in 1894, Bassett served as Professor of history at Trinity College, where he labored to promote state and regional development. He published monographs on North Carolina history, assembled southern materials in the College library, inaugurated courses in the history of his state, founded the *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society* and the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, and impressed upon his students a detached and critical historical attitude.

A great teacher who emerged from Adams' tutelage was Petrie, whose fifty-five years of service at Alabama Polytechnic Institute inspired a score of Southerners with a genuine love for history and an ambition to pursue graduate study. The list is impressive. If he had done nothing more than incite an interest in history in men the caliber of Walter L. Fleming, Frank L. Owsley, Watson Davis, Albert B. Moore, Alfred W. Reynolds, Herman C. Nixon, and Charles S. Davis, his contribution would be worthy of recording. With limited resources in an agricultural and mechanical college, he presented history by the "laboratory" method, found ample illustration in southern leadership, and vitalized local history by dignifying Alabama in the curriculum.

Perhaps Riley's greatest contribution lay in a revival of the Mississippi Historical Society and in the inauguration of its series of *Publications.* Here he was emulating the example as well as the method of Thomas M. Owen of Alabama. But Riley's own service as editor and contributor provides a permanent place for him in southern historiography. Nor should it be forgotten that he inaugurated at the University of Mississippi, where he taught from 1897 to 1914, one of the early courses in the history of the South. His subsequent career at Washington and Lee University did not yield the constructive accomplishments of his Mississippi tenure.

Other editors of historical series who also served as librarians

were Steiner and McIlwaine. After teaching history and English at Hampden-Sydney College for a number of years, McIlwaine became librarian of the Virginia State Library. In that capacity he edited the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* (a work begun by John P. Kennedy) and the *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia.* Steiner, librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore, taught history at the Hopkins and elsewhere, wrote some meritorious monographs, and produced biographies of such Maryland statesmen as Reverdy Johnson, Henry Winter Davis, Roger B. Taney, and James McHenry. He served as editor of the *Archives of Maryland* in 1900 and from 1916 until his death a decade later.

As editor of the *Southern History Association Publications*, Meriwether performed a commendable function for an organization which, with limited resources in a period when southern scholarship was still unfledged, struggled to preserve a record of the South's past. He was one of the earliest critics of the "scientific" school of monographers, and took its devotees to task for writing history that no one read, not even those who attempted syntheses. Beyond his editorial function, he produced a valuable biography of Raphael Semmes.

Two Baltimore journalists, Ingle and Lee, made creditable contributions to history and near-history. Ingle is remembered chiefly for his *Southern Sidelights* (1896), a notable work that pictured ante-bellum economic and social life, but he also published books on the District of Columbia Negro and southern material progress, and he contributed sundry articles to the *Southern Farm Magazine* and other periodicals. As a publicist, Lee edited the Baltimore *Sun* and some nonhistorical series of books. For a time he taught history at the Hopkins and comparative politics at George Washington University, and he also wrote some history and biography, including a study of the Civil War and a life of Robert E. Lee.

After a tour of duty at Smith College, Sioussat was appointed professor of history and economics at the University of the South in 1904, and he served as professor of history at Vanderbilt University from 1911 until 1917. During his last two years at Vanderbilt he edited the *Tennessee Historical Magazine.* His early monographs were on phases of Maryland history, and several of his articles dealt with the history of the South. In 1917 he accepted a call to a northern university.

In the early 1890's Weeks taught history and political science for a biennium at Trinity College, where he founded the Trinity College Historical Society. He was also one of the founders of the Southern History Association. His monographs on North Carolina and southern history were serious pieces of investigation; his indexes to the North Carolina census of 1790 and to the commonwealth's colonial and state records were a tangible service to researchers. For several years he served the United States Bureau of Education as editor and historian. His contributions to southern educational history were particularly significant. These included histories of public school education in Arkansas, Alabama, and Tennessee, a bibliography of Confederate textbooks, and a study of the origins of southern common schools. Weeks assembled an extensive collection of Caroliniana, embracing ten thousand books and pamphlets, acquired after his death by the University of North Carolina.

At least four Hopkins men of Adams' period attained college presidencies in the South: Chandler at William and Mary, Sykes at Coker and Clemson, Weaver at Rutherford, Davenport, Emory and Henry, and Martha Washington, and Riley at Hillman. Chandler had previously taught history at William and Mary and at Richmond College, and had written some monographs on Virginia history; Sykes had served as professor of history and political economy at Wake Forest College and had produced some studies in North Carolina history; Weaver, in contrast to Riley, had been little interested in research and writing.

The only Hopkinsian of southern origins to attain political distinction in the national picture was Woodrow Wilson. Of the Southerners who remained in the South, Brough achieved most recognition in the political arena. He became professor of economics at Mississippi College and wrote monographs on taxation, banking, and transportation in his native state. In 1903 he became professor of economics at the University of Arkansas, attained prominence as a lecturer on economic and social problems, sponsored Wilson's candidacy for the presidency in 1912, and served as governor of Arkansas, 1917-1921.

The accomplishments of a few other Hopkins men may be considered briefly. After a year as instructor at the University of Michigan, McPherson served for half a century as head of the

history and political science department at the University of Georgia. Ramage became dean of the law school at the University of the South, associate editor of the *Sewanee Review*, and author of articles on southern subjects. Chambers was interested primarily in secondary education and participated in chautauqua and normal work. As a historian, his study of the Mississippi Valley in its early years and a three-volume history of Louisiana brought considerable recognition. Early writings of Forman treated Thomas Jefferson and Philip Freneau; later he concentrated upon general American history and civics. Schmeckebier's dissertation dealt with the American party in the state of Maryland, and Randall, a Baltimore attorney, published some studies in Maryland history.

These and other Hopkins-trained men who passed through "Adams' Seminary" in the last two decades of the nineteenth century wrote and taught southern history, established historical societies and media of publication, gathered the raw materials of southern history into libraries and archives, administered southern colleges, and otherwise contributed to the origins of historical scholarship in the South. Adams' premature death in 1901, at the age of fifty-one, was an irreparable loss to historical activity at the Hopkins. Where could the University turn for a recognized scholar to succeed him, especially one who would continue to attract students from the South?

Ira Remsen, who succeeded Gilman as president, sought the assistance of Bassett and Frederick Bancroft in inducing William A. Dunning to accept the directorship of the department. The Columbia University professor had already acquired a reputation as an impartial authority on the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, and graduates of southern colleges and universities were manifesting confidence by enrolling in his classes. Early in 1903 Bassett and Bancroft approached Dunning on the possibility of transferring to Baltimore, a suggestion which "flattered and honored" the man who was soon to be affectionately regarded as the "Old Chief" by a growing southern clientele. A definite offer was made the following summer which Bassett thought superior to the position at Columbia "because of its larger opportunity, the greater freedom of personal control and its somewhat increased salary." As late as August 25 Dunning assured Bassett that he would accept the call because of the "excellent prospect

for good scholarly work " at the Hopkins. It soon developed that a decision would depend upon the state of his health. Returning to New York from a summer vacation in New Hampshire, he took " the opinion of two high grade (& of course high priced) physicians," who said he " would incur grave risks in undertaking a task involving unaccustomed and nerve-straining duties." He would therefore have to " settle down in the old rut " and even relinquish the editorship of the *Political Science Quarterly*.[43] With Dunning at the helm the Hopkins could have continued its dominant position in the field of southern history; his continuance at Columbia transferred the center of southern historical scholarship from Baltimore to New York.

[43] William A. Dunning to Bassett, January 18, August 25, September 6, October 1, 1903, in John S. Bassett Correspondence, in possession of Mrs. J. S. Bassett, Northampton, Massachusetts; Ira Remsen to Bassett, August 8, 31, 1903, *ibid.*; Bassett to Remsen, August 24, 1903, *ibid.*; Frederic Bancroft to Bassett, August 28, 1903, *ibid.*

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS IN BALTIMORE, DEC. 20, 1776 TO FEB. 27, 1777

By Edith Rossiter Bevan

Every school child learns that George Washington resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army at Annapolis. The Continental Congress had assembled there the winter of 1783-84 and the ceremony took place in the State House on December 23rd, 1783. Textbooks and historians, however, give scant mention to an earlier meeting of the Continental Congress in Baltimore the gloomy winter of 1776-77. On the 27th day of December the Congress vested General Washington with almost dictatorial powers to conduct the War for Independence. At this dark moment the army had dwindled to less than 3,000 men whose short-term enlistments would be up in another month. These extraordinary powers, conferred upon Washington for a period of six months, authorized him to raise sixteen battalions, 3,000 light horse, three regiments of artillery and a corps of engineers, all to be enlisted till the war should end; to appoint the officers; to take any private property needed for the army, and to arrest any person who refused to take Continental money or manifested a lack of sympathy with the American cause.[1]

Earlier that month—only five months from the day that Liberty was proclaimed from Independence Hall in Philadelphia—Generals Putnam and Mifflin urged Congress in session there to seek safer quarters. Philadelphia was within striking distance of Lord Howe's army which was sweeping victoriously southward through New Jersey. Congress, apprehensive over its possible capture with that of the city, realized that without a central governing body the war could not continue and their struggle for independ-

[1] *Journals of Continental Congress* (Washington, 1906) VI, 1045-46.

ence would be ended. They adjourned on the twelfth of December to meet in Baltimore a week later.

Baltimore Town, as it was then called, for it was not incorporated as a city until 1797, was a mere village compared to Philadelphia which prior to the war claimed a population of 40,000 and was not only the largest city in the colonies, but the second largest city in the British Empire, surpassed only by London.[2] Philadelphia supported seven newspapers and Baltimore but two—the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*[3] and *Dunlap's Gazette or the Baltimore General Advertiser*,[4] both published weekly.

Baltimore's growth had been meteoric. According to John Moale's view of 1752 there were only twenty-five houses, but in 1775 it boasted a population of nearly 6,000. Five hundred and sixty-four houses were recorded in the census[5] of this year and the over-crowded inhabitants, most of them living in wooden houses, had gladly subscribed £73 7s for a "Mechanical Company," as their first fire company was called. Though the little town was growing up, the streets were still unpaved, for with the coming of the war such projects had been laid aside.

The visiting members of Congress complained bitterly about the dirty, muddy streets they had to traverse that drab winter when hope was low and despondency high. Oliver Wolcott, delegate from Connecticut, wrote to his wife on January first,[6] "It is infinitely the most dirty Place I ever was in. No one can walk except in Boots.", and William Hooper of the New York delegation informed Robert Morris, still in Philadelphia, "This dirty boggy hole beggars all description. We are obliged, except when the Weather paves the streets to go to Congress on Horseback, the way so mirey that Carriages almost stall on the sides of them."

[2] Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen* (New York, 1942) pp. 3, 76.

[3] Founded by William Goddard in 1773. He also established a private system of post offices and riders which Congress in 1775 declared to be the official system of the country. When Goddard was absent from Baltimore during the war the paper was edited and printed by his sister, Mary Katharine Goddard, who was also postmistress of Baltimore. Lawrence C. Woth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922) p. 130.

[4] Founded in 1775 by John Dunlap of Philadelphia. He was appointed official printer to Congress in 1778 and the *Gazette* expired that year. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

[5] Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824) p. 62.

[6] Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Continental Congress* (Washington, 1923) Vol. II, Letters #247-391.

Out-spoken Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia called it " the Damdest Hole in the world."

The Baltimore Committee of Correspondence, of which Samuel Purviance, Jr., was chairman, offered Congress the use of the Court-house and had it repaired for their reception. Congress, however, chose to meet as John Adams recorded in his diary,[7] " in the last house at the west end of Market Street, on the south side of the street; a long chamber, with two fireplaces, two large closets and two doors." The house belonged to Henry Fite,[8] who rented it to Congress for three months for £60.

" Congress Hall," as it was afterwards called in memory of the event with which it was associated, was a spacious three-story and dormered attic brick building—10 windows long, with 3 doors, and 5 windows deep with a center door on the short side.[9] It stood on the corner of Liberty and Baltimore Street, as Market Street is now called. Beyond it was the sixty-acre tract of land owned by John Eager Howard that was not laid out and annexed to Baltimore until 1782.[10]

It was a small group of weary men who assembled in " Congress Hall " that winter. They groaned over the long hours spent in Congress during the day and the long hours spent in committee

[7] *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850) II, 435-36.

[8] Information supplied by Mr. Richard D. Steuart. (See *Baltimore News-Post*, Oct. 14, 1946.)

[9] Henry Fite died intestate, Oct. 25, 1789. At that time the " Congress Hall " property was resurveyed and made into 3 separate lots, which were rented to Samuel Chase, Dr. Coale and Jacob Fite (1771-1806) son of Henry. Two years later the Orphans Court of Baltimore Co. ordered the property sold at Public Vendue for distribution among his six children. Jacob Fite became the owner of the largest lot. In the Baltimore City Directory, 1802 he is listed as a flour merchant and grocer. His will leaves to his wife, Nancy Reinicker, " the rents and profits of my house and lot on Market St. and my house situate on Liberty St. for the support of my six children." A picture of " Congress Hall " made shortly before it was destroyed by fire on September 4, 1860, is shown on page 53 of *Baltimore, 1729-1929, Two Hundredth Anniversary*. A bronze tablet placed by the Sons of the American Revolution in 1894 on the east wall of the National Exchange Bank (now occupied by a men's clothing store) marked the approximate site of the building. The marker in later years was moved to the west side of the building.

[10] This property was inherited from his father, Cornelius Howard, who died in 1776. Col. Howard, who served with distinction throughout the war, commemorated battles and leaders of the Revolution by giving to new streets such names as Lexington, Saratoga, Eutaw, Greene and Paca. In the Henry F. Thompson Papers of the Society is found the correspondence between Mr. Thompson and the late Richard D. Fisher regarding the site of Congress Hall. The letters are dated 1906 and are concerned with the appropriate place for the bronze marker.

meetings at night. Dr. Rush complained in a letter to Robert Morris, " We live here as in a Convent, we converse only with one another." Throughout the entire session Congress was hampered by inadequate representation. No state could cast a vote unless three of her delegates were present and in this respect Maryland was one of the chief offenders.[11] Samuel Chase wrote to the Maryland Council of Safety: " We have not 30 members in Congress and it is not only improper but impossible for so small a Number to conduct so very important Business." He wrote on February 6th, " I must repeat the necessity of a Representation "; and again, " Our state is still unrepresented and every day matters of the greatest importance are debated and determined." John Hancock, president of Congress, comments in a letter to Robert Morris written January 14th, " We have not yet had a Representation from New York, Delaware or Maryland, the latter is rather strange." On the 11th of February he addressed the Maryland Council of Safety, " Gentlemen: I have it in a charge from Congress to Request that the State of Maryland may be fully and constantly Represented."

Despite trying conditions Congress carried on. They met daily, made resolves and issued orders. Many of the measures they debated were similar to problems of today. They discussed the advisability of regulating wages and the control of prices of commodities. " You have limited Bohea tea to ¾ of a dollar and yet it is daily sold before your eyes for 50/ " argued Dr. Rush in debate, and Dr. Witherspoon added, " In Pennsylvania salt was limited to 15/ but was sold for 60/ per bushel." Black market is nothing new. John Adams wrote in his diary, " The Gentlemen from Pennsylvania and Maryland complain of the growing practice of distilling wheat into whiskey. They say it will become a question of whether the people shall eat bread or drink whiskey." In private the delegates bewailed the high cost of living. They

[11] Maryland delegates to the Third Continental Congress were: Charles Carroll, Barrister (attended Dec. 21-Jan. 19); Charles Carroll of Carrollton (did not attend; elected to the first Maryland Senate, he was in attendance at Annapolis); Samuel Chase (attended Jan. 2 and until the end of the session); William Paca (attended Jan 16-Feb. 17); Benjamin Rumsey (elected Feb. 15, attended Feb. 18 and probably left for the Eastern Shore where a Tory uprising was threatened); William Smith (elected Feb. 15, attended until the end of the session; Thomas Stone (did not attend owing to his wife's illness). After Feb. 15th two delegates constituted a voting quorum.

grumbled over the lack of boarding houses and the prices they were charged. ". . . This extravagant hole where with all possible Oeconomy we live at the rate of 50/ per day," wrote William Hooper to a friend in New York. Abraham Clark of New Jersey lamented " the extravagant price of living here, the poorest board without Liquor, a Dollar a Day, . . . and everything else in proportion."

There were, however, a few high lights and bright spots for the delegates to write home about. On the last day of December, 1776, Col. Baylor, aid-de-camp to General Washington, delivered to Congress a letter from the General telling them of his success at Trenton on Christmas night. A silken standard captured from the Hessians was proudly hung in their meeting hall. A few days later they heard of the rout of the British at Princeton and before the end of the month they knew that Washington had recovered almost the entire State of New Jersey and had found safe winter quarters for his army at Morristown.

Good news proved a strong tonic for the weak nerves of Congress. Samuel Adams wrote to his cousin John, still in Massachusetts, " We have done more important business in three weeks than we had done, or I believe should have done in Philadelphia in six months." Colonel Whipple wrote back to New Hampshire, " There is more unanimity in Congress than ever before."

Congress was now impatient to return to Philadelphia but President Hancock advised against a hasty removal as " the Printing Presses are here and set to work, and as money is so urgently needed . . . it would not be prudent." These presses with the printers of Continental currency had followed Congress in the flight from Philadelphia. Miss Goddard, editor and printer of the *Maryland Journal*, who evidently enjoyed a monopoly of the printing business in Baltimore, lamented in the December 30th issue of her paper the opening of three new printing offices—and more expected in a few days. Supplies had to be purchased for the troops and soldiers had to be paid. " The American States Lottery " sponsored by Congress did not prove popular and as Congress lacked the power to raise the tax rate, Continental paper currency [12] was the best and only answer. Forty-two gentlemen

[12] Specimens printed by Hall and Sellers of Philadelphia, dated Baltimore, Feb. 26, 1777, are in the collection at the Maryland Historical Society.

from Baltimore Town and County were appointed by Congress to sign and countersign this issue.[13]

John Adams did not take his seat in Congress until the fourth of February. The day after his arrival he wrote his wife, "I have never been more pleased with any of our American States than with Maryland . . . Baltimore is a very pretty town." He found comfortable lodgings at Mrs. Ross's on Market Street, a few doors below Fountain Inn, in company with the other delegates from Massachusetts. ". . . everything agreeable except the monstrous price of things—cannot get a horse under a guinea a week." [14]

In his brief stay of four weeks Adams must have become very familiar with the crooked streets of the little town. His diary tells that his first Sunday in Baltimore was a day of fasting, appointed by the Government on recommendation of Congress. He heard an elegant discourse by the worthy Mr. Allison [15] at the First Presbyterian Church, and in the afternoon "walked to Fell's Point—the place where the ships lie." One evening he supped with friends over the bridge in Old Town. Another Sunday he heard Dr. Witherspoon [16] preach an excellent sermon. He walked with his colleague, Elbridge Gerry,[17] "to a place called Ferry Branch . . . a ferry which goes over the road to Annapolis." From there they had a full view of the splendid seat [18] of Mr. Charles Carroll, Barrister, "a large and elegant house—one mile from the water, . . . there is a beautiful garden and then a fall, another flat garden and then a fall, and so on down to the river." That evening he and Gerry were guests at a small dinner given by Mr. Smith,[19] newly elected delegate from Maryland—"a grave,

[13] List of names in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, March 4.

[14] *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife* (Boston, 1876) pp. 237-48.

[15] Rev. Patrick Allison, minister of the First Presbyterian Church, was appointed chaplain to Congress on Dec. 23, 1776. Rev. William White, rector of Christ's Church, Philadelphia, a brother-in-law to Robert Morris, was also appointed. Dr. White was elected the first bishop of the P. E. Church in America in 1786.

[16] John Witherspoon, D. D., President of Princeton College, the only minister who signed the Declaration of Independence.

[17] Signer of the Declaration of Independence from Mass., Governor of Mass. 1810-12; vice-president of the U. S., 1813-14.

[18] "Mount Clare" in Carroll Park. (See article in this issue, "'Mount Clare,' Baltimore," by Lilian Giffen—Editor.)

[19] William Smith, born in Pennsylvania; moved to Baltimore about 1761; member of the Committees of Correspondence and of Observation for Baltimore Town. Member of the first U. S. Congress and first auditor of the U. S. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1927), p. 1545.

solid gentleman, a very different man from the most we have heretofore had from Maryland."

President Hancock was fortunate in renting the house of Mr. George McCall [20] during his stay in Baltimore and he too entertained delegates and merchants at his home. Adams' diary tells of a stag dinner there when he and Mr. Lux,[21] Messrs. Samuel and Robert Purviance,[22] Capt. James Nicholson of the Maryland frigate *Virginia* and several other gentlemen frugally dined on salt New England fish.

Some of the prominent merchants who worked in close harmony with Congress also entertained the delegates at their homes. Perhaps they felt their city was somewhat lacking in graciousness. John Adams noted in his diary a dinner given by Mr. Lux at his elegant seat " Chatsworth," about a half mile out of town. " Mr. Lux lives like a Prince." Mr. Adams wrote his wife about a dinner for eight couples given by Mr. Samuel Purviance. The guests included " the President and lady, the two Colonel Lees and their ladies . . . a brilliant company " and doubtless a grand feast. He manfully tried to describe the ornaments worn on the wrists of the ladies from Virginia; " like miniature pictures bound round the arms with some chains." Were they bracelets? Abigail Adams would have known.

The wives of the delegates must have welcomed these diversions even more than their busy husbands, for Baltimore Town must have been a rather boring place that winter for them. No balls or assemblies were given and theatrical performances were prohibited during the war. There were no new importations in the

[20] Information supplied by Mr. Richard D. Steuart. (*Baltimore News-Post*, Oct. 14, 1946).

[21] William Lux, vice-chairman of the Committee of Correspondence for Baltimore Town; owner of a large rope-walk which furnished much cordage for vessels during the war. He married Agnes Walker who inherited " Chatsworth " from her father, Dr. George Walker.

[22] The Purviance brothers, born in Ireland, were agents for Congress in securing supplies. Samuel settled in Baltimore as a merchant in 1768, and was chairman of the Committee of Correspondence for Baltimore Town. He was captured by Indians on the Ohio River in 1788 and never heard of again. Robert Purviance, *A Narrative of Events in Baltimore Town During the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore, 1849) p. 32. Robert settled in Baltimore in 1763. John Adams thought highly of him: " He seems to me to have a perfect understanding of the affairs of this State. Men and things are very well known to him."

shops. William Prichard had not yet opened his Circulating Library [23] of "nearly 2,000 volumes, on Market Street, where Ladies or Gentlemen may become Readers by subscribing for One Month, three Months or by Agreement for a single book," but he advertised in *Dunlaps's Gazette* a fairly long list of books for sale at his book store, including one novel—*The Vicar of Wakefield.*

Congress adjourned on February 27th and soon the members started on their journey back to Philadelphia where they assembled on the 12th of March. As they bade goodbye to Baltimore did they feel more kindly about the little town on the Patapsco that had been their refuge and safe haven for the past ten weeks?—we wonder!

[23] Bookplate of Prichard's Circulating Library is in the collection at the Maryland Historical Society.

"MOUNT CLARE," BALTIMORE

By Lilian Giffen

Confusion and traffic congestion beat hard on the pulses of a modern city, factory smoke and fumes from motor-propelled vehicles hang low in its air, and the ponderous bulk of trucks and vans obscures the sides of streets and roadways. Still, sometimes, the massed foliage of old trees breaks the lines of rows of small houses or nondescript commercial buildings, and suddenly, as if by magic, one is transported into a different world and era.

Only a short distance from the crowded Washington Boulevard there is such a spot in Baltimore. A broad driveway sweeps into a wooded area called by the name of the original owner, Carroll Park, and roads rise to an elevation on which stands, in perfect state and preservation, a colonial mansion, the only one now remaining within the city limits.

This is " Mount Clare," home of Charles Carroll, Barrister.

Carroll Park belongs to the City of Baltimore, which acquired it in 1890, and the municipality keeps the grounds and gardens in excellent condition. Rare trees and shrubs grow on the place, and two magnificent old elms near the house shade a perfect vantage point from which to overlook the city.

For some years the house was painted a pale yellow, but in the last restoration the paint was removed, and the beautiful color of the original bricks stands against the background of sky and trees. The interior was redecorated at the same time, 1940.

Today the house has two wings, and two show in an old painting. Two wings also show in the painting on a chair now on exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art, but speculation or research has not yet decided the question whether the curved arch indicated in the outside brickwork of the east end of the building led into a second wing, or was thrown out as a balcony in the original construction. And the architectural mystery is heightened by the presence on the landing of the staircase against the inside

wall of the hall, of a lovely wooden door through which there is no tangible opening.

The house itself has been put in the custody and care of the Maryland Society of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, and is held as a museum. But it has not lost its character as a home, and the columned portico and delicately curtained windows greet the arrivals of today even as they did the visitors of the seventeen hundreds.

It would seem as if some building on the place had begun in 1754,[1] for the Barrister's father Charles Carroll, "Chyrurgeon," who bought the land called "Georgia," and later alluded to it sometimes as "Patapsco," and sometimes as "The Mount," wrote to his son Charles, then in England: "Your brother is now at Patapsco where I believe he will settle. He keeps a bachelor's house there, and I am building a mill and bakehouse there for him." This brother (John Henry) died young, and about a year after his death, and not long after the Barrister returned to Maryland, Dr. Carroll himself passed away on September 29, 1755.

The "Mount Clare" property originally extended down to the river, and from the windows of the house vessels could be seen loading and unloading cargoes. In the development of the place the River Road, as it was sometimes called, came down from the house past a series of terraces—"falls" as they were termed.

John Adams thus described them in his diary:

> At the point you have a full view of the elegant, splendid seat of Mr. Carroll, barrister. It is a large and elegant house; it stands fronting looking down the river into the harbor; it is one mile from the water. There is a most beautiful walk from the house down to the water; there is a descent not far from the house;—you have a fine garden, then you descend a few steps and have another fine garden; you go down a few more and have another.[2]

A part of the lovely old patterned brick steps that led down the terraces still runs down almost to the street, giving delightful vistas to the present confines of the Park. A subterranean passage,

[1] One writer states that a brick taken from a part of the house that was demolished bore the date 1756. Allen Kerr Bond, M. D., in *Baltimore; Its History and Its People,* edited by Clayton C. Hall (1912), p. 444. According to Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (1824), p. 35, "Mount Clare" was built in 1754; the same date is followed by J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore,* (1873), p. 50.

[2] *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850), II, 435.

Detail from landscape in oil, showing Mt. Clare Mansion as it probably looked during the lifetime of Barrister Carroll. The painting from which this is taken was formerly owned by the Carroll family and now belongs to Mr. Walter M. Jeffords. Tradition has attributed the painting to Charles Willson Peale, but this attribution is now open to question. Photograph by courtesy of Mr. Jeffords and Mr. Charles C. Sellers.

North Front, "Mount Clare," showing columns of stone ordered by the Barrister from England in 1767. Above, a Palladian window. The original wings long since disappeared and the present ones were built after the acquisition by the City. Photo from the *Baltimore-Annapolis Sketchbook*, courtesy Mr. Frederick Philip Stieff.

Archway on the left of small entrance hall, leading to stair hall. Above stairs are two large bedrooms, a small bedroom and a sewing room.

Dining room, east wall, The mantel in the Adam style, as well as the doors and door-frames, are of wood. The walls and cornice are of plaster.

Drawing room, looking southwest. In the principal rooms the paneling is of plaster. Most of the furniture here is said to have been that bought by Barrister Carroll.

whose exact purpose, or use, is a matter of conjecture, formerly ran between the house and the river, but that has now been closed.

" Mount Clare " reflects the care and taste used in its construction. The exact dimensions of the columns of the portico were carefully specified, and the windowed front over the entrance is distinctive. The arch of the hall is spacious in proportion and chaste in line, and the carved balusters of the stairway run up to the third floor. What were probably powder closets open in one of the bed rooms.

To the right of the main entrance of the house is the office, or study of the Barrister, to which a special entrance can be gained by a side door from the garden. In the drawing room and dining room the windows overlook the terraces and garden to the south. The walls of both rooms are panelled in plaster, an unusual feature in domestic architecture of the time.

English plate and mahogany are now in the dining room, and in the corner cupboard show the gleam of luster, the delicate designs of Lowestoft, and the rich blue of Nankin and Canton china.

The influence in the drawing room is French. With changing political conditions in the Colonies, and contacts and affiliations with France, it was natural that French designs and fashions in furnishings should find place in America. The furniture now in the drawing room at " Mount Clare " is part of the original set ordered by the Barrister for the embellishment of his home, and its present setting is in admirable keeping. A delicate blue tone colors the walls, the brocade hangings are a soft old red, light catches on the chrystal pendants of the chandelier and in the French mirror in its gilt frame on the wall, and the rich tones of an Aubusson rug cover the floor.

Charles Carroll, " Chyrurgeon," had come over from Ireland about 1715, and established himself in Annapolis in medical practice. Later he went into tobacco, built ships, and sent flour and food stuffs to the sugar islands of the West Indies. But speculation in land, and the development of the iron industry were the principal sources of his ultimate fortune.

In the eighteenth century there were four Charles Carrolls of note and prominence in Maryland—Charles Carroll and his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton; and Charles Carroll " Chyrurgeon " and his son Charles Carroll, Barrister.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton lived to a great age, hence his con-

nection with affairs in the State continued long after the death of the Barrister, on March 23, 1783.[3]

Charles Carroll, Barrister, was equally active and forceful during the Revolutionary period in the affairs of Maryland. His leadership in the community was recognized, and he served on most of the important committees in the conventions in Maryland, and framed, or helped to frame, some of the great state documents. He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence, was put on the Committee of Safety, and presided over several conventions, including the one that relieved Governor Eden of his office.

Charles Carroll, Barrister, was one of the seven most distinguished patriots appointed to prepare a declaration and charter of rights, and a form of government for the State of Maryland. Elected to Congress, and having declined the Chief Judgeship of the General Court, he was elected to the first State Senate, an office he held until his death.

The future Barrister was taken to Europe when a child for his education, his father having resolved as he wrote to a relative " (with God's Assistance) to give him the best I am able."

He studied at Cambridge University and did not come home until he was twenty three years of age when he remained in Maryland for some years and then returned to England to read law in the Temple.

There must have been much to make life agreeable to a man young, rich, cultured and attractive, and Charles Carroll probably enjoyed his opportunities and advantages. Dr. Carroll wrote letters of general advice and comment in the moralizing style of the day when forwarding remittances, such as: " I hope you will lay out this money in Necessaries for your Person or Endowment of Your mind and not spend in Wine or Riot, Remark that Women and Wine are the Bane of youth."

But one suggestion of possibly personal considerations comes in a letter of May 8th, 1754, saying: " You must not look on every Body that speaks you fair to be your ffriend[.] as to any notion of settling there I fear it will not answer for Ladies of ffortune will scarce give it to fforeigners whose Estates they deem in England

[3] Barrister Carroll died childless, leaving " Mount Clare " to his sister's son, James Maccubbin, on condition that he take the Carroll name. This he did and the property remained for generations in the possession of this family.

very precarious. Therefore you must fix your Eye for future Life in Maryland."

The Barrister early owned property in his own right, and was consulted by his father in business and legal matters. He was therefore probably well fitted to take charge of the large inheritance that came to him.

He gave careful attention to the details of the Baltimore Iron Company, in which he had inherited an interest, maintained his town house in Annapolis, and carried out extensive plans at " Mount Clare."

Orders to, and invoices from, his agents in London show the importation of a coach for town use; post chaise with harness for four horses and postilion saddles; stop watch with two hands " as I am concerned with the blood and running breed of horses "; " Fishing Reel to hold lines, hooks, leads, etc. with all the apparatus complete "; tools; seeds; wines; books; silver; china; glass; mahogany furniture and looking glasses in gilt frames; draperies; materials; clothing.

The Barrister appreciated and desired fine things, but his taste was refined, and he often stipulated that things were not to be made " in the extremes of fashion "; and objected to the width and weight of the gold lace used on one of his coats as too " Broad and Glaring," saying he would have it removed and wished the tailor to send him a narrower lace.

After the *Maryland Gazette* announced his marriage on June 23, 1763, to Margaret, daughter of Matthew Tilghman, " a young lady of Merit, Beauty and Fortune," orders included other items—" a lady's watch and chain; diamond hoop ring, sprig for wearing in the hair of opal and paste mixed; fashionable breast flowers; caps of gauze and lace and flowers; fashionable hat; velvet mantle; négligé; and flowered brocade for dress which has a light gold sprig or flower woven into the silk."

Mr. and Mrs. Carroll wished to establish special varieties of fruit trees at " Mount Clare," and agents were directed to send not only the seeds but, if possible, small trees in boxes.

An interesting sidelight on the vegetable garden appears in the order for broccoli seed. Whether it was the same variety now cultivated, or whether that vegetable did not then appeal generally to the American palate and was lost sight of, is not known, but

members of the A. E. F. in Europe in 1918-19 sent broccoli seed to relatives in the United States as a novelty and special delicacy.

The Barrister was of scholarly mind, and his selection of books for his library was of substantial value, though he also kept in touch with current pamphlets and periodicals. Some of the volumes of his collection, containing his book plate, are now at "Mount Clare."

Charles Carroll, Barrister, had wide interests and sympathies. Not only was he one of a group contributing funds so that Charles Willson Peale might go to England to study, but he gave personal interest and effort towards his development and advancement. In the advice he gave the young painter regarding selection of a particular branch of his profession, he concludes with kindliness and consideration: "But after all Consult and be guided by the best of your own Genius and Study the Branch to which your disposition Leads you and that you Judge most suitable to your Talents. You had better be a Good Painter in Miniature than an Indifferent one in Either of the other Branches and be Assured that what I have above wrote and mentioned Proceeds from my Desire of your Welfare."

Social as well as political life was full at "Mount Clare." Washington, Lafayette, and many of the notables of the day were visitors there. A letter of Lafayette is among the documents at Mount Clare and a recent gift has brought to the house one of the first Washington clocks on which the inscription reads "First in War, First in Peace, and First in his Countrymen's Hearts."

A still more recent bequest has brought other lovely things to the place, and so the beauty and the interest of "Mount Clare" go on, and the life and color of the period becomes very real and vivid as personalities and possessions stand out to tell their story.

JOHN SHAW, CABINETMAKER OF ANNAPOLIS

By Louise E. Magruder

John Shaw, cabinetmaker of Annapolis, was introduced to me by telegram in the winter of 1930: " Please locate, read, and report fully anything of business interest in will of John Shaw, Annapolis, cabinetmaker, dying probably either in 1806 or twenty eight; also list tools or stock given on inventory; want deeds for shop on Church Street or elsewhere."

When the will was located in the office of the Anne Arundel County Register of Wills at the Annapolis Courthouse it was found that it had been made in September, 1826, and probated on 9 March 1829; and that it contained the sentence: " I give to my son George Shaw my mahogany bookcase which was made many years ago by myself." The inventory, account and account of sales were disappointing because they added little to the knowledge of his possessions; but the will is worth quoting at length:

I John Shaw of the City of Annapolis in the State of Maryland being in health of body and of sound and disposing mind, [etc.]

Item, I give and devise unto my son James Shaw and his heirs and assigns forever, all that Lot and parcel of ground with the buildings thereon lying on Doctor Street in the City of Annapolis and running forty one feet from Jacob H. Slemaker's House to the Courthouse fence then at right angles Seventy Seven feet until it intersects Temple Street then forty one feet with Temple Street then to the beginning on Doctor Street.

Item, I give and devise to my five children Mary Shaw, Elizabeth Franklin, Thomas Shaw, James Shaw and George Shaw and their heirs and assigns forever as Tenants in common and not as joint tenants all the rest and residue of my Real estate lying and being in the City of Annapolis or elsewhere. And it is my wish and desire that the house in which I now reside may not be sold out of the family, but that my son George Shaw occupy the same and that my said son George Shaw pay to my other children a reasonable rent for the same annually. It is also my wish and desire that my son George Shaw should have the use of the

Store House he now occupies together with the warehouse and book binders room attached to the same as long as he may think proper and that he pay a rent of one hundred dollars annually to my other children for the same.

Item, I give unto my daughter Mary Shaw my negress Deborah Tootell and her child Ann also the Bedstead and bedding complete and all the furniture generally used in her room.

Item, I give unto my daughter Elizabeth Franklin my negress Kitty Carroll.

Item, I give to my son Thomas Shaw my negro John said son Thomas to take possession of said negro immediately after my death, so that he should not be permitted to remain with the family or in Annapolis.

Item, I give unto my son George Shaw my negro James.

Item, I give unto my grandson John Franklin my negro Henry.

Item, I give to my son George Shaw my mahogany bookcase which was made many years ago by myself provided he gives in exchange to my Son in law Thomas Franklin the Bookcase now used by the said George and now in his possession.

Item, I give and bequeath to my five children before named all the rest and residue of my personal estate to be equally divided between them. And Lastly I do constitute and hereby appoint my sons Thomas Shaw, James Shaw and George Shaw executors of this my last will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 18th. day of September in the year of Our Lord 1826.

JOHN SHAW (seal)

Witnesses: Jonas Green, Jona. Weedon, Louis Gassaway.

On January 7, 1829, son-in-law Thomas Franklin was added to the executors named above in codicil and signed with his mark. The will was probated 9 March 1829, and on 17 March 1829 the executors, James Shaw, George Shaw and Thomas Franklin came to swear to the will. 12 March 1829 Thomas Shaw, of Frederick County, Maryland, refused to act as executor.[1]

Shaw's obituary in the *Maryland Gazette*, March 5, 1829, is very interesting. It runs as follows:

COMMUNICATED—Departed this life on the morning of Thursday the 26th. ult. Mr. John Shaw, in the 83rd. year of his age. In noting the demise of this gentleman, justice to his memory requires that we should say something more of him than that he has finished his course upon earth. There were points in his character, which received the earnest approbation of good men while he lived, and which, though we shall

[1] Wills 40, folio 23-27, Register of Wills, Annapolis Courthouse.

barely mention the most prominent of them, deserve to be remembered and imitated, now he has disappeared from among us.

Mr. Shaw was not only one of the oldest and most respectable inhabitants of this city, but, until disqualified for active life by age, and its concomitant infirmities, was one of the most useful of them. In the gallant and arduous struggle for our independence, he espoused the cause of freedom, and filled the then truly responsible and difficult station of armourer to the state. In that office he acquitted himself completely to the satisfaction of the public as was shewn by his having been continued in it many years after that struggle had successfully terminated. He was gifted by nature with strength, as well as fortitude of mind, and possessed a degree of self control which rarely permitted the calmness of temper, for which he was remarkable, to be disturbed. Thus happily constituted he pursued his way, content in the conscious rectitude of his heart, and the just aim of his actions. Not withstanding his earthly existence had been protracted, by Divine Providence, to a term beyond that alloted to most men, his whole conduct remained free from reproach, and he descended into the grave, survived by a fair and unblemished reputation, and in peace with the human family. He was not afraid to die! A life characterised by industry, temperance, strict integrity and punctual attention, to religious duty had stripped death of its terrors, and prepared him for that awful event. To conclude—he was a good man, who lived sincerely beloved by his family and deservedly esteemed by his fellow citizens and has, we trust, passed from this world of care, to partake of the joys promised to the righteous.

The publication of the information about the bookcase precipitated me into the controversy that was taking place between New York and Philadelphia " authorities " as to whether John Shaw was, really, a cabinetmaker or just a seller and importer of furniture. Being bewildered by the technical discussions that followed, I decided to go into the question from the angle I could understand, by putting together public records made at the time in Annapolis which are still available.

The tombstone in the family lot at St. Anne's Cemetery on Northwest Street, Annapolis is still in good condition. The inscription thereon reads: " Here Lie the Remains of Mr. John Shaw who was born in the City of Glasgow on the 25th. of April O. S. 1745 and died in the city of Annapolis on 26th. January 1829 In the 84th. year of his age." This lets us know he was about twenty five years old when we find in Judgments 62, DD # 18, 1771 to 1772, folio 430, at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, the convincing item: " 26 April 1770 John Shaw, cabinet maker against Thomas Sparrow, struck off, defendant paying the cost."

The word cabinetmaker clearly separates this John Shaw from that other John Shaw, Surgeon, Living on Lot 102 on East Street between King George and Prince George Streets whose wife, born Ruth Worthington, administered on his estate in 1775.

On 23 February 1773 the *Maryland Gazette* printed an advertisement: "Joshua Collins musical instrument Maker and Tuner from Manchester begs leave to acquaint the Public, that he has commenced the said branches of business, at Messrs. SHAW AND CHISHOLM'S Cabinet Shop;" and on 27 May 1773: "Just Imported from London, and to be sold by Shaw and Chisholm, Cabinet and Chairmakers, in Church Street, near the dock, a neat and general assortment of Joiners and Cabinet makers tools."

It is probable that John Shaw lived over his shop on "Church Street near the dock" for some years. On 24 May 1784 David Long, planter, of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, sold to

JOHN SHAW, Cabinetmaker of the City of Annapolis for £510 current money Lott 73 in Annapolis begin[ning] 100 feet from place where a stake formerly stood in Church Street being the end of the first course of the lot as expressed in deeds of conveyance made by George Johnson to Sewell Long in August 1751 and being also the beginning of the 2nd course of the said lot and the aforesaid beginning of the part now sold being the place from whence a division fence begins and runs across the said lot to the Stadthouse Circle running thence the aforesaid 2nd course of the lott bounding on Church Street until it reaches the Lott now occupied by Mary Johnson the distance of 105½ feet then north 26 degrees east 105 feet to the Stadt house Circle then by and with said Circle until intersected by a northern 26 degrees east course running with the division fence aforesaid from the aforesaid beginning of the part now sold together with all Improvements.[2]

In the *Maryland Gazette*, 26 August 1784, we find:

Archibald Chisholm, To be sold at Public Sale 25 Sept. at the house where the subscriber now lives a variety of household furniture consisting of beds, bedsteads, tables & chairs, a second hand spinnet in good order, a very good handmill; a small collection of valuable books & sundry other articles. At same time will be sold, if not sold before, a neat riding chair & harness & a very elegant new mahogany framed billiard table, with 3 sets of new balls, tacks & cues complete. The sale to begin at 10 o'clock. *N. B.* I want a healthy boy about 14 or 15 years of age, of a good character, as an apprentice to the cabinet-making business. A. C.

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[2] Anne Arundel County Deeds NH # 2, folio 20, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Again, in the *Maryland Gazette* for several issues beginning 8 November 1784:

> Just Imported & to be sold at the house of JOHN SHAW, opposite the south end of the Stadt-house a great variety of looking glasses, teachests, billiard balls, pictures framed & glazed, maps of North-America, divided according to the preliminary articles, signed at Versailles 20 January 1783, in which are particularly described the boundaries of United States General Atlas describing the whole Universe being a complete & new collection of the most approved maps extant engraved in the best manner on 52 copper plates, corrected with the greatest care and augmented from the latest discoveries down to 1782. SHAW & CHISHOLM.

The firm of Shaw & Chisholm was not dissolved without some difficulties. Chisholm brought suit against John Shaw Cabinetmaker, to recover the sum of £200. He exhibited Shaw's bond dated 26 July 1790 concerning a lot of ground on Cornhill Street leased of Charles Wallace, Esqr.[3] There is also on record an indenture dated 25 November 1794 "between Archibald Chisholm of City of Annapolis, cabinetmaker, and John Shaw, of same place, cabinetmaker; Whereas Charles Wallace by indenture of lease 25 June 1770 leased to Thomas Hewitt a lot of ground in Annapolis for 99 years begining at William Corie's lot . . . down Cornhill Street, until it intersects East Street," which Hewitt assigned 2 November 1775 to John Shaw & Archibald Chisholm, said Chisholm for £34/15 sold to said Shaw the premises for the residue of the term.[4]

The services now rendered by morticians were part of the activities of cabinetmakers in earlier times. From Chancery Paper 4357 at the Land Office of Maryland it appears that John Shaw 14 Sept. 1794 furnished a "coffin for a child inside lyned £1/2/, cash paid the sexton 7/62" and Chancery Paper 3620 shows he was in charge 10 April 1795 of a funeral costing £19/12/6. There were "a raised top coffin with black cloth lined and shrouded £12/10, a case for ditto 17/6; use of the pall and hearse £2/5; making a shroud 22/6; paid the sexton 22/6; to making hatbands and superintending funeral £1/5." For the funeral of the relict July, 1811, he furnished "a black coffin with raised top lined and shrouded £4/10, a case for ditto £1/2/6; to use of pall and hearse £2/5; to making hatbands and sending tickets out 15/, total

[3] Court Proceedings, Anne Arundel County, 1792.
[4] Deeds, Anne Arundel County NH # 7, folio 342.

£8/12/6." On 13 October 1800 Thomas Jennings, administrator of Thomas Jennings, Esqr., late of Anne Arundel County deceased, swore to paying " John Shaw on account of funeral expenses." [5]

Various apprentices were bound to Shaw:

15 August 1798. Washington Tuck 17 years old 22 March 1798 is bound to John Shaw to be taught trade of a cabinet maker & joiner [Shaw agrees] to find him in sufficient meat, drink, washing, lodging & cloathing & to cause him to be taught reading, writing & arithmetic as far as the rule of three & at the expiration of his servitude to pay him his freedom dues agreeably to Act of Assembly; [6]

19 May 1800. Henry Lusby 17 years old July 1800 his mother present in Court is bound to John Shaw to learn the trade of cabinet maker; [7]

9 April 1806. This Indenture witnesseth that Jonathan Weedon son of the late Richard Weedon hath put himself, with the consent of his uncle & guardian Richard Weedon, Jr., voluntarily & of his free will & accord apprentice to John Shaw cabinetmaker, carpenter & joiner in the City of Annapolis from this date for 6 years 5 months 20 days and until he arrives at 21 years which will happen on 22 September 1811.[8]

It will be remembered that Jonathan Weedon was one of the witnesses to the will of John Shaw on 18 September 1826.

Of course there are many records which show John Shaw engaging in all sorts of activities. These records quoted are to show that Shaw was a cabinetmaker, not just a business man. If further evidence is needed, here is Shaw's letter to General Smallwood:

June 24th, 1789.
Annapolis,

Sir

The Chairs you sent to be repair[d] had been done ever since the second week after they came here. I saw Lazar the packet man Some time ago who promised to call for them the first time he was going to Potowmack but he has not don it yet—Your sideboard table is done all but the top, for which I have sent to philadelphia for the Best peice of mahogany that can be got to make it of—I shall be glad you would send to the glass man about the bottles as I expect to finish the table very soon I shall esteem it as a particular favour if [you] will be so kind as to send up the ballance of your Accompt as I am very much distressed for want of cash at present I am Sir your Excelenceys most obed[t] & much oblig[d] Humb[le] Serv[t]

John Shaw [9]

[5] Administration Accounts 89, 1797-1802, Folio 350, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[6] Proceedings Court 1797-1805. Orphans Court, Anne Arundel County, folio 31.
[7] *Ibid.*, folio 92.
[8] A. A. Co., Index to Record of Receipts, 1896-20, JG 2, folio 197.
[9] Chancery Papers 1819, Land Office, Annapolis.

RESIDENTS OF BALTIMORE BEFORE 1776

In the absence of a census prior to that of 1775 when an official count of the inhabitants of Baltimore was made, lists of names of residents between the founding of the town in 1730 and the years of the American Revolution are of obvious value.[1] The subscription lists which follow, while not complete enumerations, supply probably the best available directory of early Baltimoreans. They are from the collections of the Maryland Historical Society.

Of special interest to many, perhaps, are the purposes for which the lists were made. Let the imagination have full reign in considering conditions prevalent here nearly two hundred years ago and remember that the village of that day centered, as does the city of today, around the Basin at Light and Calvert Streets.

I. *A. Subscription List Bearing Original Signatures, 1748* [2]

Maryland Baltimore Town January 28th 1748

Whereas there is an Act of Assembly which prohibits all the Inhabitants of Baltimore Town from Keeping, or Raising Hogs or Geese in the said Town. We the Subscribers do hereby agree & oblige ourselves to pay to the Clerk of the Town the Sums affixed against our Respective Names towards keeping up, repairing, and making Good the Fence of the said Town and supporting a Person to keep it in good Order.

Robt. North Gives 10	£0:10:–	R. Chase	10 –
Darby Lux	10 –	Brian Philpot Junr	0.10.0
Wm. Rogers	10 –	Nicholas Rogers	0.10
Thos. Chase	10 –	John Ensor Jr.	0: 5:0
Wil: Lyon	10 –	John Shephard	0. 5.

[1] Of the 1775 lists only one original is known to have survived, that for Deptford Hundred (Fells Point) which is owned by the Society. It was published in this Magazine XXV (1930) p. 271-275. The total population of Town and Point was 6,755.

[2] This list has appeared in J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (1874) but with a few errors. For convenience a correct version is here given. The same comment applies to the 1751 list.

Abram – – amer [?]	0– 2–6	James Perkins re [?]	– 5.–
Hannah Hughes	0.10–	Wm. Ferguson	0– 5–0
Joseph England	0– 5–0	Vitus [?] Hartung	0– 5–0
John Feasher [?]	0– 5–0	[On verso]	
Henry Johnson	0: 2:6	Chris[r] Cylmire	0: 5:–

B. Attached to the Foregoing Is a Separate Sheet Bearing Original Signatures, Endorsed "Subscription Paper," 1748

I will give towards finishing fencing the town

	£ s d		
Darby Lux	1 – –	W. Hammond	1 – –
W[m]. Rogers	1 – –	Edmond Dogan	10.0

C. One of Two Identical Lists in a Clerical Hand, Endorsed 1748

We whose names are underwritten hereby give towards finishing the Fencing of Baltimore Town the several sums affixed against each of our Respective Names Vizt.

Dr. George Buchanan	£0.10 –	Mr. Edmd Dogan	0.10.–
Capt. Darby Lux	1. 0.0	Mr. Thomas Harrison	1. 0.0
Mr. Will[m] Rogers	1. 0.0	Capt. Charles Ridgely	0.10.–
Coll. Will[m] Hammond			
	pd. 1. 0.0		

II. *Subscription Lists Bearing Original Signatures, Endorsed: "Subscription for Town Hall and Market House in Baltimore 1751"*

WHEREAS Severall Acts of Assembly have been made for the Enlargement and Encouragement of Baltimore Town And forasmuch as the said Town Increases as well in Inhabitants as good Buildings and Trade, and the Scituation thereof renders it convenient for Navigation and Trade as well with the Inhabitants of Baltimore and Ann Arundell Countys, as the Back Settlements of this Province and Pensylvania. But no Provision hath yet been made by Law or otherways for Purchasing a Lott or Lotts, whereon to Build a Market House, Town House and other Necessary Buildings for the Benefitt of said Town, and conveniency of such Persons as bring their Butchers Meat and other Commodities to Sell at Market in the said Town—

WHEREFORE for the further Encouragement and Improvement of Baltimore Town We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed do hereby Promise and Oblige ourselves our Executors and Administrators to Pay to the Commissioners of Baltimore Town or their Order the Severall Sum or Sums of Money to each of our Names affixed to be applied to the Purchasing a Lott or Lotts in said Town, and Building thereon a Market

House and Town Hall in such manner as the Commissioners of said Town shall direct and appoint, Provided the said Lott or Lotts shall be Purchased, and the Building began within Two Years from the date hereof.

WITNESS our Hands and Seals the Twenty third Day of April. 1751.

T. Sheridine ten pounds	10.0.0	Wil: Lyon Five pounds Sterl	5 – – Sterl
W. Hammond five pounds	5.0.0	Thos Sligh	10 – – Ster
Thomas Harrison fifteen pounds	15.0.0	Thos Chase five pounds	5 Curt
Alexander Lawson ten pounds Sterlg	10.– – Ster	John Rendell	5.0.0 Ster
Brian Philpot Junr ten pounds Sterlg	10.– – Ster	L[loy]d Buchanan five pds Cur	5 – –
Wm. Rogers	10 Cur	Willm Lux Five Pounds Sterl	5 – St
		N. Ruxton Gay five pounds Cur	5 – –

III. *Residents in 1752 Taken From Printed List Signed "J. T.," Probably Published 1852.*[3]

The following list of families, and other persons residing in the town of Baltimore, was taken in the year 1752, by a lady of respectability, and who was well acquainted with the place at the time.

Captain Lucas,
William Rogers,
Nicholas Rogers,
Dr. William Lyon,
Thomas Harrison,
Alexander Lawson,
Bryan Philpot,
Nicholas Ruxton Gay,
James Carey, (Inn-keeper,)
Parson Chase,
Mr. Pain,
Christopher Carnan,
John Moore,
Mr. Sheppard, (Tailor,)
Bill Adams, (barber, the only one,)
George Strebeck, (drove a single team of horses, only wagon,)
Jacob Keeports, (Carpenter,)
Conrad Smith,
Captain Dunlap,
John Crosby, (Carpenter,)
Robert Lance, (Cooper,)
Philip Littig, his wife was mid-

[3] Following the names in this list "J. T." supplied miscellaneous information of considerable interest. For instance, "The Governor and Council lived east of Jones' Falls on Jones Street." This was evidently in 1757, the only occasion when Baltimore was the seat of the colonial government. Driven from Annapolis by an epidemic of smallpox, the Assembly met in Baltimore, according to the editor of the *Archives of Maryland* Vol. LV (1938) p. xiii, on April 8 of that year, and remained through May 9. "J. T." continues: "The General Assembly sat in William Rogers' house, Inn-keeper." He also tells us that the first female child born in Baltimore arrived in 1741; that the inhabitants in 1756 were "supposed not to exceed 300"; and that Colonel John Eager Howard was born in the year 1752.

wife among the German women
Mrs. Hughes, only midwife among the English Families.
Charles Constable,
Mr. Ferguson,
Mr. Goldsmith,
John Ward,
Kilt Stramwich, [?] (Labourer,)
Nancy L[o]w,
Mr. Gwinn.

The well known aquatint engraving of Baltimore in 1752, published in 1817 by Edward J. Coale, is based on the original pencil drawing taken on the spot in 1752 by John Moale, and now owned by the Society. The key of the engraving lists the names of only five persons. Below the picture are the names of Messrs. Moale and Daniel Bowly, who, with his memory, seems to have assisted some one, probably Benjamin Tanner, in locating sites and arranging the scene. Those named in the key are Capt. Lux, the two Rogers, Kaminesky, tavern keeper, and Ward "the Barber." Conflicting memories doubtless account for the discrepancies between the two 1752 lists.

IV. *Partial List of Inhabitants, 1768.*[4]

Baltimore in 1768.

A List of persons Inhabitants of Balto. Town who are desired to Send Labourers to mend and repair the Streets in said Town, 1768.

Persons Names.

1st.

Mr. John Moale,
Capt. Alexdr Stewart,
Dr. Jno Stevenson,
N. Ruxston Gay, Esqr
Robt Alexander, Esqr
Mr. Andr Buchanan,
Mr Jno Ashburner,
Mr Jos Burges,
Mr Hart, Saddler,
Mr David Rusk,
Mr Jno McClellan,
Mr Conrad Conrad,

2d.

Mr John Ridgely,
Rev. Thos Chace,
Jno Beal Bordley, Esqr
Benja Rodgers, Esqr
Capt. Jno Adn Smith,
Mr Chissely,
Mr Jas Calwell,
Mr Wm Lux,
Mr Darby Lux,
Mr Alexdr Lawson,
Mr Wm Payne,
Mr Jno Mercer,

3d.

Mr Wm Smith,
Mr Jno Merryman,
Mr Jona Plowman,
Mr Thos Jones,
Mr Nichl Jones,

[4] From the William H. Corner Collection. The divisions in the list, headed by numerals from 1 to 10, apparently refer to wards.

Mr Thos Harrison,
Mr Isaac Grist,
Mr Robt Adair,
Mr Archd Buchanan,
Dr Alexr Stenhouse,
Mr Mark Alexander,
Mr Robt Purvaince,
Mr Wm Spear,

4th.

Mrs Lux,
Mrs Rodgers,
Mrs Gough,
Mrs Orrick,
Mrs Philpott,
Mr Wm Moore, Senr
Mr Wm Moore, Junr
Mr Nichs Hasselbach,
Mr John Hawn,
Mr Wm Adams,
Mr Geo Lindingberger,
Mr Alexr Leeth,

5th

Mr Wm Barney,
Mr Wimbt Jada,
Mr Henry Brown,
Mr Jno McLure,
Mr David McLure,
Mr Herc: Courteny,
Mr Fredr Thomas,

6th

Doctr H: Stevenson,
Doctr Jno Boyd,
Mr Richd Rodgers,
Mr Balse Mayre
Mr Frd Mayre,
Mr Jas Sterrett
Mr D: McClellan,
Mr Jno Smith
Mr Wm Gilbraith,
Mr Jno Hadding
Dr John Dodge,
Capt. Wm Dunlap

7th

Messrs R & J: Christie
Mr Ja: Keport

Mr Jno Fowl,
Mr Conrad Smith,
Mr Jno Stover,
Mr Wisbie
Dr Chas Weisen[t]hall
Dr Chas Clews [Clows?]
Mr Malr Keener,
Capt Patton,
Messrs Shields & Matteson
Mr Fela Oneal

8th.

Mr Thos Worthington
Mr Richd Moale
Capt. Chas Ridgley,
Mr Jno Hart
Mr Wm Daves
Mr Nathn Griffith
Mr Alexn McMehan [?]
Mr Wm Labley
Mr Simn Vashoon
Mrs Brown
Mr Jerd Hopkins
Mr Benja Griffith

9th

Mr Morris Whistler
Mr Sam: Mercer Smith
Mr Adam Brant
Mr Geo: Lebley
Mr Letsinger
Mr John Rock
Mr Christn Deel
Mr Christn Apple
Mr Jno Srim
Mr Jno Stoler
Mr Geo: Streepack
Capt. Geo: Rose

10th

Danl Chamier Esqr
Mr Henry James
Mr Jno Moore
Anthony Frenchman
Fredr Kees
Henry Rock
Phillip Leddick
David Linn

INDIAN STONE PILES IN MARYLAND

By C. A. Weslager

Professor Frank G. Speck has recently called attention to an Indian brush heap located in Delaware which was supposedly a memorial marker used to commemorate the death of one of the members of a local tribe, and he cites other occurrences of similar heaps. He writes:

Historians and ethnologists treating the Indian customs of the New England and Middle Atlantic States have seldom failed to find in some localities the remains of heaps of accumulated material placed at the side of a trail or pathway where those who pass by throw something on the pile, until in the course of time it assumes the proportions of a small monument commemorating some legendary occurrence.[1]

The moving forces of civilization in the East have resulted in the destruction of almost all of the native handiwork except that of a sub-surface character, with the result that the so-called memorial heaps are extremely rare. In the West, however, many such heaps, made of stone, brush, and other materials—have escaped destruction, and from time to time they are observed by qualified persons and properly recorded. For example, one writer has recently called attention to four heaps of boulders along the trail leading from the Hopi Indian village of Hano, and 19 separate stone piles along the Hopi trail from California to Arizona, to say nothing of 15 similar stone heaps recorded on the Lower California desert.[2]

[1] Frank G. Speck, "The Memorial Brush Heap in Delaware and Elsewhere," *Bulletin*, Archaeological Society of Delaware, IV, No. 2 (May 1945) pp. 17-23. Speck's essay also prompted another student to report on memorial heaps in New England, Eva L. Butler, "The Brush or Stone Memorial Heaps of Southern New England," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut*, No. 19, April 1946, pp. 3-12. The author enumerates 26 stone heaps recorded in the New England area; cites an excellent bibliography, and concludes that" "The scarcity of these data makes it difficult to give a definite interpretation of the custom at present, but it is expected that the recent notice which the heaps have received will lead to the collection and interpretation of more information which will eventually bring about a solution to the riddle."

[2] Arthur Woodward, "Good Luck Shrines of the Desert," *The Desert Magazine*, IV, No. 3 (Jan. 1941) pp. 22-23.

Some of these piles of stones are apparently dedicated to Masauu, a Hopi deity, whereas others serve as common shrines on which the passing Indian relies for aid or guidance. Among the Huichol Indians in the mountains of north central Mexico, heaps of small stones are found beside the trails and in the villages, which, if properly propitiated, are supposed to attract rain clouds to the vicinity. The stones are also supposed to protect fields, springs, domestic animals and household goods. It is important that the traveller, in order to obtain a true blessing, is supposed to deposit an offering on the stone pile and breathe a prayer for good fortune in his venture. The offering usually consists of another stone which he adds to the pile, a twig, a potsherd, or similar materials.[3]

Another writer states that rock piles are found commonly throughout the area from the Rio Grande to the Pacific. The Navajo use the term "*tsenadjihih*" when speaking of the piles. The name means "picking up and putting on stones." The piles are said to vary in size from three to five feet high and in most cases are along old trails.[4]

A writer on the religion of the Pueblo Indians also calls attention to the stone piles: "On many a mesa pass such a pile of stones may be seen, made, it has been generally said, to get rid of fatigue or ailment." [5]

Still another observer of Acoma Indian customs writes of the rock piles from 12 inches to 2½ feet in height, adding that "When one puts a rock on one of these columns he first holds it up, spits on it, and then lays it down so no bad luck will happen.[6] Spitting, needless to say, has a deeper meaning among the Indians than it does among modern white people, the act being symbolical of self-cleansing.

[3] *Ibid.* The Navajo Indians often place a green spray among the rocks on one of the piles as a "good luck" offering. Apparently, the Indian gods are satisfied with very humble offerings.

[4] Richard F. Van Valkenburgh, "Sacred Places and Shrines of the Navajos," *Plateau*, V., 13, No. 1 (July 1940) pp. 6-9.

[5] Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939 2 Vols.). See p. 460.

[6] Leslie A. White, "The Acoma Indians," *47th Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology (Wash. D. C., 1929-1930) pp. 23-198. *Bulletin 30* of the Bureau of Ethnology also contains reference to stone piles under the subject of "Shrines"; see Part 2, p. 559. The writer is indebted to the library staff at Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. for assistance on his recent visit in locating references to stone piles.

Many other references could be cited, but these few quoted above serve to illustrate the distribution and general use of the western rock piles. Turning our attention to the East, and specifically the State of Maryland, a very significant reference to similar stone piles has been found in the old documents by William B. Marye. In 1930 Marye wrote a stimulating essay on interesting place names in two counties of Maryland.[7] In this essay, he called attention to a former tract of land, called "Heathcoats Cottage" whose beginning point was at "three heaps of stones called the Indian Graves," and he quoted a deposition made in 1814 by John B. Ford which confirmed their location. In fact, the heaps of stones represented a coterminous point on the tracts called "Heathcoat's Cottage," "Clarkson's Hope," "Gassaway's Ridge," and "Francis's Freedom" (otherwise called "Young's Escape") and for this reason the stones served as a marker.

Marye has kindly furnished me with an earlier deposition which is of importance in giving us reason to identify the heaps as being of Indian origin. The deposition follows:

28 December 1769 Moses Greer aged 54 years or thereabouts doth depose and say that between thirty and forty years ago he was frequently informed by his father John Greer that the place where we now are being at three heaps or Piles of stones which stand nearly in a triangle and near to a run commonly called the broad run and on the north or north east side of the said run and near an old path formerly known by the name of Cox's Road which said three heaps or piles of stones are known by the name of the Indian Graves was the place where a tract or parcell of land called Heathcoats Cottage began or formerly had its beginning and further this deponent saith not.[8]

Marye has also kindly given me copies of three other depositions which serve the purpose of definitely locating the site of the three stone heaps, and which confirm that Indian cabins stood nearby. Because of their length, these depositions are not being included, but they may be consulted by interested persons.[9]

[7] W. B. Marye, "The Place-Names of Baltimore and Harford Counties," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXV, (Dec. 1930) pp. 321-365. See p. 350 for section on "Broad Run and the Indian Graves."

[8] Taken from *Baltimore County Deeds*. Liber A. L. No. B, folios 304-314: Colonel William Young's land commission to prove the bounds of "Sewall's Fancy."

[9] The first of these dated 1732 is found in *Baltimore County Court Proceedings*, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 2 folio 144: John Baldwin and William Rumsey's Land Commission to determine the bounds of "Heathcoat's Cottage." The second occurs in 1782 in *Baltimore County Deeds*, Liber W. G. No. L,

There is little question from a study of these several documents that the Indian stone heaps formerly stood on Broad Run, Eleventh District, Baltimore County, in the forks between the Great and Little Falls of Gunpowder River, about three miles and a half above the head of tidewater on the river proper, and about a quarter of a mile west of the road between Kingsville and Fork. The stone heaps have, of course, long since disappeared, but there can be no reason to question that they were, indeed, typical of the stone memorial heaps erected by the early natives.

While the writer has not yet located any descriptions by early explorers pertaining to stone heaps specifically located within the State of Maryland, the comments of John Lawson about the Carolina Indians are of pertinence. He wrote: [10]

> They have other Sorts of Tombs, as where an Indian is slain, in that very place they make a Heap of Stones (or Sticks where stones are not to be found); to this memorial every Indian that passes by adds a stone, to augment the Heap, in Respect to the deceased Hero.

Further in his narrative, Lawson writes as follows:

> This day we met with seven heaps of stones, being the Monuments of seven Indians that were slain in that place by the Sinnagers [Seneca] or Iroquois. Our Indian Guide added a stone to each heap.[11]

Perhaps this reference to southern Indian custom, added to our information relating to the brush heap in Delaware, would allow us to speculate that the three stone piles in Maryland—known also as Indian graves—may have marked the site where three Indians were slain. Moreover, since the stone piles were alongside an old trail, we might also be safe in surmising that passing Indians added stones to it from time to time as was custom among their tribe.

folio 455 *et seq.* The third, made the same year, is found in the Depositions on "Nangemey" and "Sewell's Fancy," Baltimore County Deeds, Liber W. G. No. L, folio 455 *et seq.*

[10] John Lawson, *The History of Carolina, etc.* (London, 1718) p. 22.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 44. In this connection the quotation from John Smith is pertinent (*Works of Captain John Smith*, Bradley & Arber edition, Edinburgh, 1910, I, 76). He wrote that the Indians dared not go up the river where burial houses were located, "but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or Pocones into the river, for fear their Oke should be offended and revenged on them."

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins. By JOHN C. FRENCH. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. 492 pp. $4.75.

Forty-five years ago, the presidents of the leading American universities and other well known educators from this country, Canada and Great Britain met in Baltimore to participate in a program marking the retirement of Daniel C. Gilman as first president of the Johns Hopkins University and the inauguration of his successor, Ira Remsen. I was one of the alumni who had the good fortune to attend those exercises held on February 22nd, 1902.

We heard one outstanding university president after another congratulate Dr. Gilman and the Johns Hopkins University upon having planned and executed one of the most forward steps in the history of education. Each speaker hastened to bear witness to the fact that Johns Hopkins University was the pioneer in graduate studies in this country and that its creative policies had started in a big way a new era in research activities.

A highly dramatic incident occurred during these exercises when Woodrow Wilson, as an alumnus of Johns Hopkins, delivered an eloquent speech of about ten minutes in eulogy of Dr. Gilman's work. The day, ten years later, that Woodrow Wilson was nominated in Baltimore by the Democratic Party as its candidate for President of the United States, I heard one of his most enthusiastic backers say that he was supporting Woodrow Wilson for the Presidency because of that speech.

Not in a speech of a few paragraphs, but in a book of 492 pages, has John C. French written a history of Johns Hopkins University—and he has needed every one of these pages for his portrayal. In it he has set forth a record of achievement unsurpassed in education. He has covered a tremendous amount of ground because he has succeeded in discussing within the compass of one book only, practically all of the many outstanding activities and accomplishments of Johns Hopkins University.

Naturally Dr. French had not the space available to cover in a sense of particularity the history of any special department of the university. He does, however, by sure and brilliant touches show the place of each in the composite picture. This is illustrated by the Medical School, the history of which Dr. Alan Chesney, Dean of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, is now writing.

Dr. French gives a vivid picture of the objectives of Johns Hopkins, of the characteristics and foresight of the first trustees, and of Gilman's vision and efforts to create not another educational institution of an

existing pattern but one of a type totally unknown in this country. He illustrates Gilman's genius in selection of men. Step by step we see the unfolding of a big university, new in design and efficient in operation.

One of the many interesting features of the book is the stress laid upon the contrast in personalities of the five men who have been the presidents of the University since its inception. The invaluable but widely different contributions made by each president, Gilman, Remsen, Goodnow, Ames and Bowman are forcibly presented. He demonstrates how Gilman and his successors have been able to secure effective team work in research without the sacrifice of any of its essential elements of individuality.

The record of what President Bowman has done is of course far from completion. The fact that he has been highly successful as president of Johns Hopkins is a matter of general knowledge. It is not so well known, however, that his personal services to the United States Government have been of great continuing value.

In countless ways Johns Hopkins University since its opening in 1876 has accomplished results momentous and epoch-making. Even if such had not been the case, Johns Hopkins during the recent war would have justified fully its existence and the widespread confidence it enjoys. Under the far-seeing and resourceful leadership of Isaiah Bowman, Johns Hopkins has made many invaluable contributions to our war program. Also President Bowman personally has handled many matters of primary importance for the United States Government. He has been a very close and invaluable advisor to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, to Secretaries Hull and Brynes and to other high officials of the Government. His work in helping to create the concept of and to shape the structure of the charter of the United Nations was indispensable.

The book touches upon some of the many helpful services which Johns Hopkins has rendered the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland.

The index is excellent. The table of contents has been carefully prepared and is entirely adequate. The chapter titles of the book suggest how comprehensive, systematic and progressive is the treatment of the subject matter. These are: The Shaping of the Baltimore Experiment; The Winning of the Community; Growth and Transition, Homewood as a New Outlook; Growth and Expansion; Aspects of Students' Affairs; The Color of University Life; Academic Epilogues. The appendix, consisting of salient documents, is not long, but shows careful discrimination in selection.

Dr. French has been connected with the Johns Hopkins University, as a student, teacher and librarian for over fifty years. He writes in a graphic and illuminating style. He is a painstaking and accurate chronicler. His interpretations and occasional prophecies carry conviction. He marshals facts so that they tell accurately and in a convincing manner a story of purpose and achievement. He displays a comprehensive knowledge and a thoroughly competent sense of relative values and of proportions. His book is always in focus.

The result is a fine piece of workmanship, constructed by a scholarly man who has both intimate knowledge of and affection for the subject of his labors. Dr. French has done a well-rounded, highly satisfactory job.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

Zachary Taylor. By BRAINERD DYER. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946: viii, 455 pp. $4.00.

For almost a hundred years after his death, Zachary Taylor's life remained unwritten. Beyond General O. O. Howard's military biography, published in 1892, there existed literally no reliable study of Taylor's place in American history. He remained one of the vague figures of his curiously vague period.

But since 1941 three scholarly biographies of Taylor have appeared, between them casting a superfluity of light on the man and his times. Mr. Dyer's is the latest of these. In consequence it lacks both timeliness and the importance to be derived from the satisfaction of a genuine need. This circumstance, however, is less Mr. Dyer's fault than that of American scholars in general, who have never succeeded in establishing a clearing house for work in progress. In itself Mr. Dyer's *Zachary Taylor* is excellent.

Its fundamental and pervading merit results in Mr. Dyer's capture of his readers' confidence. One soon becomes convinced that his Taylor is the genuine historical figure and is in no part the creature of a biographer prone to overestimate the importance of his own research or the qualities of his subject. And the book is not overwritten in an effort to inject "color"; the plain facts are lively enough for Mr. Dyer. These elements of balance and maturity are too often absent from American historical writing. Mr. Dyer has them in unusual sufficiency.

The Zachary Taylor so portrayed is a man of considerable appeal. He was born to a substantial Virginia family in 1784, but grew up on the Kentucky frontier where his father had received land as a Revolutionary veteran's bonus. His education, typical of the time and place, was rudimentary. All his life he was troubled by ignorance of spelling and grammar, but he retained the frontiersman's vigor of phrase which education often destroys—"If the enemy oppose my march, in whatever force, I shall fight him."

In his early twenties Taylor entered the army, where he remained, save for a short interval, for forty years. A great part of his biography, therefore, is necessarily concerned with the tedious details of garrison life, the petty politics, and the anguish over promotions that mark the armies of all centuries and nations. Mr. Dyer manages not to be dull in this part of his work, which evidences his literary skill. He allows his readers to draw their own conclusions about Taylor during the period when his character and career were forming. Taylor seems to have been an able,

though not brilliant, officer, good-hearted, well liked, yet without a profound knowledge of military principles.

In 1810, like many another sensible man before and since, Taylor had married a Maryland girl, Margaret Mackall Smith. Mr. Dyer tells us far too little about her. In Holman Hamilton's *Zachary Taylor* (1941) we learn that she was from Calvert County, a descendant of Cromwell's provincial attorney general.

In all this time there is no hint that Taylor would ever play a part in national politics, of which he knew nothing. But at the beginning of the Mexican War, Major General Taylor's Army of Observation opened fire and thereby launched Taylor's political career. His first major victory, at Resaca de la Palma, made him the hero of a nation eager for self assertion, despite his strategic blunders. His capture of Monterrey increased his stature in the popular mind. At the battle of Buena Vista, unwisely invited by Taylor, he gained new celebrity. With many of his seasoned troops withdrawn by the Administration to Scott's command, he successfully withstood the greatly superior army of Santa Anna, and so achieved the position of an intended martyr who escapes martyrdom by his own efforts. His battlefield orders ("A little more grape, Captain Bragg"; "Double-shot your guns and give 'em hell") becamse popular legends.

Taylor had thus become exceedingly attractive to the Whig politicians, and they soon hurried him into a world he never understood. While his intentions were transparently patriotic and high-minded, his political ineptitude was almost incredible. Taylor's presidency started off wrong. His choice of a cabinet surprised the country in omitting such outstanding Whigs as Webster, Clay, and Crittenden, though it included as attorney general Reverdy Johnson, the great Maryland advocate. And such as it was, the cabinet received no leadership from Taylor, whose inexperience qualified him only to follow. Nothing Taylor touched seemed to go right: his irascible handling of a French claim led to seriously strained diplomatic relations; while his successful negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Britain brought him national unpopularity because of American hopes of aggrandisement in Central America.

In sum, Taylor's sixteen months in the White House form a pitiable record. The old man did his best to do right, but each effort was somehow frustrated. Still, as Bulwer, the British minister, wrote at his death, "His intentions were always good; his word could always be relied upon; his manners were downright, simple, straightforward." He was a genuine, homespun American.

EDWARD GARFIELD HOWARD

Lost Men of American History. By STEWART H. HOLBROOK. New York: Macmillan, 1946. 370 pp. $3.50.

Lost Men of American History is a curious mixture of three things. First of all, as indicated by the title, Mr. Holbrook has resurrected dozens of the lesser known figures in American history, like Eli Whitney, Daniel

Shays, Samuel Colt, Horatio Alger, Margaret Sanger, Henry Mencken, and others of various kinds, genius, and character. Running along with the biographies of these is a number of re-examinations of famous historical events, like the Battle of Lexington, the New York draft riots of 1863, and the Battle of Santiago, in which he attempts to recover the facts from the legends that have been built up around the events. And, mixed with both of these things, is a general commentary on the American past which becomes in fact a sketchy general history of the country.

It is difficult to know what to say about such a book. It is certainly very entertaining, and for certain purposes very useful. Yet one hesitates to recommend it to the general public for the basic reason that it is more likely to confuse than to clarify American history. There is a paradox here—the book is ostensibly written for the general public in the laudable effort to dispel some of the generally accepted myths about our history, but on the other hand, it is only the serious student of history who can really profit by it. This comes about because Mr. Holbrook is quite accurate in his biographical material, but much too sweeping in his generalizations about American history in the large. Hence, the historical student will profit by the minutiae while discounting the general, but the general reader will enlarge his misconceptions. In any case, one cannot agree that most of the men and events described by Mr. Holbrook are "lost" or misunderstood. Modern social or cultural histories of the United States, even the better textbooks, take account of the important ones, and no college history course of today would ignore them.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

Autographs: A Key to Collecting. By MARY A. BENJAMIN. New York: Bowker, 1946. 305 pp. xxxv plates. $6.00.

Here is a very Bible for autograph collectors, complete with creed and commandments, written by a high-priestess of the cult who, as the daughter of Walter Romeyn Benjamin, dean of American autograph dealers and collectors, was born into the highest tradition of her profession.

Few enthusiasms are more easily understood than the one Miss Benjamin ministers to, for there is no need of esoteric knowledge to stir the imagination of a person holding in his hand a really significant letter of a great man. Here is something "hot"; the flow of the script, the turn of the letters reveal personality as nothing else does. The outsider can therefore concede a large measure of truth to Miss Benjamin's contention that the autograph collector is a useful person who performs invaluable service in preserving our common historical heritage. However, to claim any such distinction for the man who lays out thousands of dollars in assembling sets of signatures of the signers, or (as very recently) pays heavily for a misspelled and trifling letter in the hand of our only living ex-President, brings a sardonic smile to the lips of the uninitiated.

It is not for such as these, of course, that Miss Benjamin is writing.

Her book, though enriched by a wealth of interesting narratives of fraud, forgeries and lucky finds, is primarily a text-book for librarians, dealers and advanced collectors, who will gladly give it their wholly serious consideration. Every detail germane to the subject in hand is gone into with lucid thoroughness. The person who has mastered these complexities will find himself in a strong position to enter the field *par inter pares*. Miss Benjamin constantly enjoins the neophyte to check every step against the experience of a top-flight dealer. In the opinion of at least one seasoned collector, this advice should be taken with reservations. He feels that a willingness to use one's own wits, to learn by one's own mistakes and pay for them, if necessary, is, in the long run, the best approach to collecting, and certainly the most exciting one.

J. G. D. Paul

Old Quilts. By William Rush Dunton, Jr. [Baltimore] Catonsville: The Author, [1946]. 278 pp. $4.50.

Dr. Dunton's *Old Quilts* takes up these relics of the past in a specified locality, for with few exceptions the examples are Maryland made and owned. The format of the book makes it easy and convenient to consult and a pleasure to look at; it is particularly nice to have the descriptive text and the reproductions before one at the same time. Divided into seven sections—Introductory, Literature, Album Quilts, Appliquéd Chintz Quilts and Coverlets, Tree of Life and others, Framed Medallions, Plain Quilts—the greater part of the book is filled with detailed descriptions of the hundred-odd quilts illustrated, in half and whole page cuts, from most excellent photographs. One is able to see not only all-over designs and effects but also in many cases the patterns made by the minute stitches of the quilting itself. The period 1842-1852 seems to have been the hey-day of the quilt in Maryland but examples of types dating from the last decade of the 18th century are shown. It is possible to assign approximate dates to them from style, type of stitching, and the various materials used.

First interested in quilts as a measure in occupational therapy, the Doctor in his book allows us to enjoy expressions of his personality and to share his growing pleasure in the objects themselves: their beauty and workmanship, the slant on social history and inventions of the past century contained in them; the development of textile weaving and printing; the local history found concealed in them—and, of course, genealogy.

It goes without saying that the workmanship on the whole is superior in whatever category; design, both overall and in individual sections, is more variable. In the Album quilts, made in separate squares joined together, conventional and naturalistic trends are noticeable. Birds, animals and flowers abound and if the ladies appear somewhat fanciful when confronted with objects from natural history and botany, the fruits, by contrast, are remarkably lifelike.

In Maryland quilts are found such familiar sights as the Washington Monument, Godefroy's Battle Monument, a local bricklayer's home, the monument to a hero of the Mexican War, mementoes of a fire company and, of course, the B. & O. R. R. with engine and coach filled with passengers—the latter protected by window curtains! Emblems of such organizations as the Masons, the Odd Fellows and the Temperance movement can be seen. The borders of the coverlets, like the individual blocks or the great central design of appliqué examples, are studies in themselves and range from the stiff, tight and primitive to free and graceful arrangements of cubes and curves and beautiful running vines.

Many of the more elaborate quilts are presentation pieces—testimonials to popular clergymen or doctors, or to a woman honored by devoted friends. Many quilts were parts of bride's outfits, others were given to youths who celebrated their twenty-first birthday. These latter were presented at "Freedom Parties" (referring to the end of apprenticeship days). The individual makers are too many to be noted individually here but we must point to the group of quilts made by the servants of Mrs. William Wilkins, a semi-invalid, whose designs were made to while away years of illness, and whose productions are now the proud possessions of many descendants. The names of the makers alone are a delight—to the usual Margarets and Marys, Marthas, Mary Annes and Hannahs (and the favorite Maryland *Henrietta Maria*) we can add such now unusual ones as Arianna, Zibiah, Milcah, Kitturah, Achsah, Cassandra, Melissa, and others.

Dr. Dunton's book must be a part of all local libraries and will be of constant use in institutional ones. From the profuse illustrations alone the owner of a quilt can discover whether it is a typical one, an unusual one, or something which is unique.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

NOTE:—The Maryland Historical Society has an interesting quilt collection, among them two remarkably fine appliquéd examples. One was made by the midwife when staying at *Riverdale* awaiting the birth of Ella Calvert circa 1840; the other was designed and made by Mrs. Samuel Register whose talent and abilities were in great demand among her friends for such work. The former was the gift of Mrs. William M. Ellicott, the later of Mrs. J. Williams Lord.—A. W. R.

The Story of Commercial Credit Company, 1912-1945. By WILLIAM H. GRIMES. Baltimore: Schneidereith & Sons, 1946. 149 pp.

The story of Commercial Credit Company, modestly termed by the author a "booklet," is a somewhat detailed account of the national contribution in the field of specialized commercial banking made by this Baltimore company, headed by Mr. Alexander E. Duncan, its founder, and a group of distinguished associates.

The difficulties of writing the history of this company's first thirty-three years were quite out of the ordinary for the company not only was a pioneer in its first field (the purchase from manufacturers of their in-

voiced accounts against customers), but continuously grew in analogous fields both by pioneering and by improving on existing plans and procedures. However, Mr. Grimes, who became treasurer of the company in 1914, has been able, through twenty-four chapters, to keep the differing skeins of operations in clear perspective.

The effect of this story on the ordinary reader is to produce real wonderment at the wide flexibility of the services which were created to meet special needs, and the astounding overall growth which this flexibility developed from assets of less than a million dollars in 1912 to approximately two hundred million by the end of 1945.

Even highly successful pioneers are apt to meet with unexpected reverses and the author does not hesitate to point out in detail some of the ventures that promised well at the outset but for one reason or another proved costly. Not only the changing requirements of new forms of credit, but the changing attitude of the general banking fraternity toward innovations which were once frowned upon are ably and interestingly discussed.

The importance of the company's developments and operations in various fields of specialized credit has had a definite influence, both directly and indirectly, on nationwide business procedure, and, therefore, this story of the Commercial Credit Company is a "must" for all students of the history of modern business credits. To Marylanders the publication furnishes authoritative enlightenment as to the history of a locally organized financial institution of nationwide prominence, and that its founder came originally from Kentucky in no wise detracts from the fact that the Commercial Credit Company was born, succored and reared on Maryland soil. The story is well illustrated with photographs and reproductions of early advertisements, and is documented with appropriate data and statistics.

H. Findlay French

Fifty Years of Suretyship and Insurance. The Story of United States Fidelity and Guaranty Company. By Clark J. Fitzpatrick and Elliott Buse. Baltimore: [U. S. F. and G. Co.,] 1946. 198 pp. + index.

Nineteen forty-six was the fiftieth birthday of the United States Fidelity and Guaranty Company of Baltimore, (pleasantly known to all as "the U. S. F. and G."), founded by the late John R. Bland, and in commemoration of that important anniversary Clark J. Fitzpatrick, Secretary of the corporation and Elliott Buse have written the story of the company. The book, handsomely printed but not large, proves again a truth which readers discover anew whenever some one publishes an interesting record of an important business, namely, that the story of industry and business in the United States is full of action and color and that it is, indeed, likely to get closer to the facts of life in America than stories of a good many other things which people are more accustomed

to think of as history material. As a matter of fact it would be an excellent idea if more of such books were written. The hair-raising stories which lie buried in the corporate records of American business surely contain enough steam and inspiration to keep free enterprise booming for another thousand years, certainly enough to put to shame the modern "planners," who want all business operated at the intellectual and spiritual level of a municipal dog-license bureau. But it is difficult to get business history written. Most business literary composition is poured orally into a dictaphone or a stenographer's ears, and comes out scarcely resembling belles lettres. And the real stories are usually kept under lock and key for fear business secrets will be stolen and capitalized by some ruthless competitor. Hence, instead of business, most history deals with wars, assassinations, marriages and politics, and most of its heroes seem to be kings, queens, statesmen and generals. Even in this book the authors quote a contemporary of the founder, Bland—one Edron S. Lott, Chairman of the Board of the United States Casualty Company of New York, who wrote a book called *Pioneers of American Liability Insurance*, in which he said of the famous Baltimorean: "What a General of an Army John R. Bland would have made!"

With the greatest respect, Pish and Tosh! Why worry about what a General of an Army he would have made when we know what a pioneer of corporate suretyship he *did* make? To weep because, instead of pursuing, perhaps, Aguinaldo or Pancho Villa, John R. Bland founded and built up one of the greatest suretyship businesses in the country is to mistake the proper end and purpose of Man, at least in the opinion of this reviewer.

The story of this man who built a great business out of nothing is recommended to those misanthropes who have given too much ear to the notion that there are no more frontiers to conquer in this country and that free enterprise has shot its bolt. The same thing was being said in John R. Bland's time. Patterns of business were fixed, methods approved, conventionalities established, frontiers, presumably pushed back as far as they would go. So Mr. Bland pushed them farther, pioneering in a field where it did not occur to most men that any field existed. But today it is as familiar as any field known to men of business. Surety bonds and casualty policies act as buffers in nearly every phase of social and business life and are today regarded as essential to the conduct of an enterprise.

But when John R. Bland was getting started (at the age of 45, incidentally, an age when, according to some of our most powerful modern thinkers a man should begin to plan what he is going to do with his Social Security pay), the very idea of corporate suretyship was regarded with suspicion. Ex-Governor Frank Brown, having been elected President of this unheard-of and incredible institution (Mr. Bland was First, Vice-President and General Manager at $3,000. per annum), decided in the spring of 1897, after having been President less than a year, that he was "unwilling to continue as President of any corporation unless I would be familiar with its business." This seemed a reasonable enough notion.

So he resigned in a fog of unfamiliarity and Mr. Bland took the helm of his own ship.

How he stayed at the helm for 26 years, making corporate suretyship one of the most familiar and dependable things in the American scene, building his business in the face of the bitterest kind of competition—competition which "stopped little short of actual blood-letting"—this is the fascinating story told in this historical study of a Baltimorean who was one of the giants of American business, and of the institution he created. He was helped, to be sure, by other Baltimoreans who, while they doubtless knew little more about this strange business than Governor Frank Brown, had such complete confidence in John R. Bland that they went along. Their names and glimpses of their personalities help to light up the pages of Messrs. Fitzpatrick's and Buse's book—J. Frank Supplee, Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Samuel H. Shriver, J. Kemp Bartlett, A. G. Hutzler, Alexander P. Knapp, Isidor Rayner, Townsend Scott, James E. Hooper, Frank S. Hambleton, William H. Matthai, William T. Dixon, to name just a few of the incorporators and original directors; so that it becomes clear how solidly today's U. S. F. and G., with assets well in excess of a hundred million dollars, is grounded in the life and traditions of the city which it helped to make famous throughout the world. In the history of corporate suretyship the Company goes back almost to antiquity, and yet it is only fifty years old, vigorous, strong, confident, on the threshold of new triumphs and greater successes, and with new frontiers to conquer—just like the country.

RAYMOND S. TOMPKINS.

American Scriptures. By CARL VAN DOREN and CARL CARMER. New York: Boni and Gaer, 1946. 302 pp. $3.75.

American Scriptures by Carl Van Doren and Carl Carmer is in fact the libretto of a series of radio programs given during 1943 and 1944 during the intermissions in the well known Sunday concerts of the Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York. Each program is built around a central historical episode—the Declaration of Independence, Flag Day, George Rogers Clark, and the like—and contains dramatic or prose poetry and quotations from historical documents. There are also 48 plates illustrating the text, and much care has been exercised in obtaining unusual pictures, although in many cases this has militated against clarity of reproduction.

The result bears little or no resemblance to history. The editors have chosen to present vignettes of history which illustrate some phase of what is called "the American character" and the material is selected to illustrate the point, not to prove it. Hence, just as in a book of poetry, the reader must accept what is written or reject it—there is no possibility of learning through the free exercise of reasoning from the facts at hand. There is a very obvious similarity between this work and Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, or Benet's *John Brown's Body*, but it lacks the inspired unity both of

those achieve and does little more to explain American character, if at all. Readers who desire to study American history from the sources should turn to one of the several anthologies now in print; those who wish to read patriotic poetry of a fairly high order may find this to their liking.

W. H. H.

Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. By Elisabeth Hartsook [and] Gust Skordas. Publications of Hall of Records Commission, No. 4. [Annapolis: Hall of Records, 1946.] 125 pp. $2.00.

As Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of Maryland, states in a Foreword, all the records described in this book have long been known to students and genealogists. One does not therefore expect new light from this volume, but rather clear exposition of the two voluminous and important groups of material, Land Records and Probate Records of the colonial period, and a complete listing of the libers with an indication of their contents. Those who consult the Book will not be disappointed. Except for brief lists in the reports prior to 1923 of the Commissioner of the Land Office there has been no printed guide to these materials.

Dr. Hartsook has provided a commentary of 30 pages, which embrace the history of land administration, of the charter of the colony, and of leases, warrants, patents and rent rolls. This is followed by the list of 280 libers, not counting separate indexes. Mr. Skordas describes succinctly the Prerogative Court, which during colonial days performed the functions of a Probate Court. With this sketch are included outlines of the duties of the Commissary General, Chief Clerk and Register and the Deputy Commissary. The various classifications of records pertaining to testamentary matters, extending to 356 volumes and more than 100 boxes of loose papers, as well as index volumes, are each briefly described.

James W. Foster

Early Rehoboth. Documented Historical Studies of Families and Events in This Plymouth Colony Township. Volume II. By Richard Leabaron Bowen. Rehoboth, Mass.: privately printed, 1946. x, 177 pp. $5.00.

This second volume continues the interesting presentation of local history which Mr. Bowen is using to amplify his projected documentary history of the Rehoboth community. Based on transcripts from original records, "these volumes represent a new type of personalized history." Each volume contains chapters devoted to particular subjects, taking the

contemporary documents and connecting them in a manner so clear and in a style so readable that the result is a series of stories revealing much about the life of the people of Rehoboth. In this volume there are studies of the Indian place-name Seekonk and of the Biblical name Rehoboth, together with the original King Philip's War lists, and a stirring account of the counterfeiting activities of Mary (Peck) Butterworth. As with the first volume, this work is important for historians and genealogists of New England.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

One Hundred and Fifty Years of Banking in Baltimore, 1795-1945. Baltimore: The Horn-Shafer Company, 1946. 42 pp.

This slender volume of less than fifty pages, printed for private distribution by the Union Trust Company of Maryland, gives a brief early history of the founder "Bank of Baltimore," which later, as the National Bank of Baltimore, was merged with the Union Trust in 1930. The Bank of Baltimore, chartered in 1795, was the seventh American bank to begin business in the United States. The Union Trust Company, which was incorporated in 1898 as the Realty Trust Company of Maryland now represents the consolidation of fourteen financial institutions, a number of them having long histories of their own.

The book is most attractively printed and bound and the numerous illustrations of both new and old Baltimore scenes are admirably chosen. The lists of various former presidents and directors, as well as executives, together with dates of mergers, and various financial statistics will be helpful to future historians when the general banking history of Baltimore is written. Obviously no 150-year history of an important business institution can even be outlined in a few pages, and the present book merely selects certain highlights with the object of commemorating, in unusually pleasing form, a major milestone.

H. F. F.

Centenary, Convent of the Visitation, Frederick, Maryland, 1846-1946. [Frederick:] privately printed, 1946. [101] pp.

The appearance of this attractive little book marks the observance of one more centenary of a Maryland institution. The story of the Visitation order, its founding in France, its spread to Georgetown, D. C., in 1798 and to Frederick in 1846, is well told. Interwoven in the account are pleasant threads of Frederick history and biography.

J. W. F.

NOTES AND QUERIES

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1946

The year 1946 will go down in the Society's history as a most successful one. Not only has our membership increased but donations and other acquisitions have been exceptionally fine. The Society has demonstrated its usefulness to the people of Maryland and to many beyond its borders.

The number of members added for the year was 409, of whom 8 were life members. However, during the year we lost 58 members by death and 147 from resignations and other causes. The net gain for the year was, therefore, 204. As of December 31st last our rolls carried 2,614 names. Though not a part of this report, it may be noted that 78 new members have been enrolled since January 1st, bringing our membership as of today to 2692.

During the year the Society held ten general meetings which were addressed by distinguished and interesting speakers. The attendance was generally excellent, varying from 100 to 350 persons. In addition, there was a joint meeting of the Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore City and the members of our Society on November 1st. There were also 5 meetings of other large organizations in our building, besides 8 meetings of boards of other societies, including the Woman's Eastern Shore Society, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, and the Society of the Cincinnati.

Thirty-six groups have made tours of our building, preceded by short addresses by the Director or other members of the staff. These groups totalled about 750 persons. In addition, members of the staff have been guest speakers elsewhere before clubs and schools on 12 occasions. The total number of persons who were directly addressed under the Society's auspices during 1946 was not far short of 6,000.

The detailed report of acquisitions for the year has been printed regularly in our news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*. It will not be necessary to repeat the record here. Needless to say, investigation and evaluation of many fine new accessions will require months of study. In response to our appeal for small donations to balance the budget in a year of skyrocketing prices, our members and friends generously contributed a total of $1,241. The happy results of this important aid will be related further on in this report. We also acknowledge with thanks various cash donations of considerable size for special purposes, including the purchase of

rare manuscripts, the restoration of portraits and the repair of precious documents.

Many exhibitions have been arranged for your enjoyment and instruction and for the benefit of the public. The permanent exhibitions have been maintained in good condition and some advantageous rearrangement and freshening have been effected. Temporary exhibitions have been recorded in our bulletin and in the public press. With the appearance in the December issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* of Miss Rutledge's "Handlist of Portraits in Varied Media" the publication of lists of all our portrait materials was completed. The Society possesses 225 large oil portraits, 210 drawings, watercolors, pieces of sculpture and 150 miniatures. Descriptions of these three groups, a total of 585 likenesses, are now available in print at small cost to any interested person. In due time the Society hopes to prepare similar classified lists of other holdings.

Temporary loans of significant materials owned by the Society were made during the year to the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Pratt Library, the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and the New York Historical Society.

Some progress has been made in indexing and otherwise making accessible materials in our library. Under the grant made two years ago by the State, thousands of important manuscripts have been indexed by subjects as well as by proper names and thousands of cards have been added to the Dielman Biographical Index, chiefly through the able contributions of the originator of the file, Mr. Dielman, who continues the work in spite of his "retirement." Much progress has been made in mounting miscellaneous clippings and filing them for quick reference, and in analyzing and recording our large holdings of account books and record books.

The Society receives an ever-increasing flood of requests for information by mail, by telephone, and by personal visits. These deal with genealogy, the history of Maryland and of the nation. Many relate to specific items in our collections or expected to be found here. Our staff is asked to date all sorts of antique items, to identify pictures or artists, to furnish models for copying, to decipher old script and to read and advise on publication of manuscripts. We thus carry on almost a general information service. Ruling out the freak inquiries and the requests obviously outside our normal field, the Society strives to meet this legitimate demand,—one that is entirely beyond its ability to cope with. An age that is research-minded to a far greater degree than any previous one taxes our present powers. The addition of at least one person to the library staff will soon be a necessity.

The regular quarterly issues of the *Magazine* and of *Maryland History Notes* have appeared on time. The use of a colored cover for the Magazine, with an interesting picture, has attracted favorable comment. The contents, we trust, have proved interesting to members. The Society prints and distributes over 3,000 copies of each issue. The bulletin appears in an edition of 3,500 copies, some of which are given to visitors. We leave it to our members to say whether these publications are satisfactory

and to make comparison with those sponsored by any other historical society.

The War Records Division of the Society, under the direction of Mr. Harold R. Manakee, who in August last succeeded Dr. Nelson B. Lasson, is making marked progress in the gathering of record material relating to the war. From both the home front and the military front large groups of material were received, indexed and filed for future use. A substantial start has been made in collecting individual service records. An excellent beginning in collecting historical material relating to Maryland industry in the war has been made, and the staff of 8 persons is pushing this phase of the work. The results, as will be imagined, will document all phases of life in Maryland during the war. Comparison of our own program and achievement with those of some other states affords evidence that the organization and coverage in this state are on a superior plane.

Reference has been made to the voluntary contributions of members. It is gratifying to report that the Society through these gifts was enabled to meet its budget with a small balance remaining. What this means is that the Society had to forego various desirable activities and projects. We cut our garment according to the pattern that was given us, but in noting this accomplishment, let us not forget that we have had to curtail or trim to the detriment of good service and of operating efficiency. As the Director often reminds me, the Society in the functioning of its library and gallery is far behind standard practice. To him and our other assistants this is a very present headache. To spend hours in search of something needed by a scholar or business firm because we lack the indexes or other tools to locate the answer, and a staff adequate to prepare such tools, is wasteful of both time and money. It taxes the patience of the patron and of the staff. Any member who can suggest ways and means to remedy this unfortunate condition will be gratefully heard from. In spite of the fact that our staff is too small, we have made some progress in improving the situation but not nearly enough.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE,
President

PRISCILLA OF THE DORSEYS: A CENTURY-OLD MYSTERY

By FRANCIS B. CULVER

Family traditions are often untrustworthy, as the experienced genealogist knows. The writer recalls a glaring example of the truth of this statement in the case of a young man who desired to join an hereditary patriotic society in the right of a Revolutionary War ancestor. According to his family tradition, that ancestor was said to have been a "General in the Army, who served seven years and was wounded five times." Investigation revealed the actual facts of the case were as follows: The ancestor was drafted, at the age of sixteen years, in the county militia; later, he served

as a wagonmaster for less than a year when he caught the smallpox, was invalided to his home and never returned to the service. His name does not appear on the extant military rolls, but it is recorded in the files of the Pension Office at Washington, where the facts are given in detail. How this utterly false family-tradition started, no one appears to know. It may have been merely a hoax on the part of someone unknown.

Another instance of false tradition bears upon a problem of a genealogical sort. Among the files of an old newspaper known as the *Commonwealth,* published at Frankfort, Franklin County, Ky., in the issue dated 3 Sept. 1839, an obituary notice appears, which reads as follows: [1]

> " Another patriot of the American Revolution gone. Colonel Robert Wilmot departed this life at his residence in Bourbon county, Ky., on the 20th of August last, at the advanced age of 82 years.
>
> " When but 18 years of age he was commissioned by the Legislature of Maryland (his native State) a Lieutenant of Artillery, in which capacity he immediately joined the Revolutionary army and continued in active service until the close of the war; during which time his patriotism and valor were signally displayed in the battles of Monmouth, Ver Planck's Point, Gates' Defeat and Stony Point. When 24 years of age he was united in marriage to *Miss Priscilla Dorsey, daughter of the Hon. Caleb Dorsey of Maryland*; [2] and in the year 1786 came with his family to Kentucky and settled on a large and fertile tract of land in Bourbon county, which he occupied until his decease, and upon which he reared a family of four sons and five daughters," etc., etc.

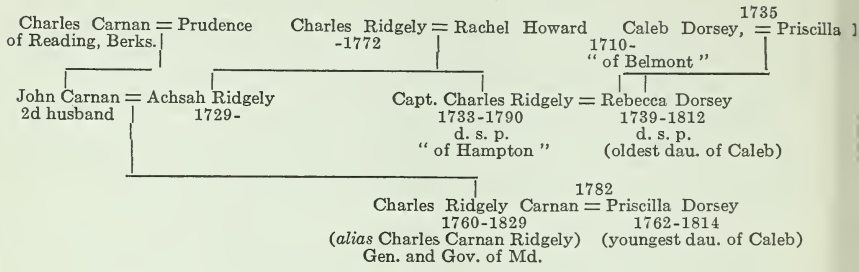
This obituary was signed with the initials R. W. S. [Robert Wilmot Scott, a grandson and namesake of the deceased].

The Wilmots were a well known and highly respected family of Baltimore County, connected by intermarriage with the Cromwells, Merrymans, Talbots, Towsons, Owings, Gittings, Bowens, and other prominent old families of that county.[3]

" Colonel " Robert Wilmot was born in Baltimore County, Md., on 25 Dec. 1757. He married, by license dated 8 Oct. 1781, one Priscilla Dorsey, whose father most certainly was *not* " the Hon. Caleb Dorsey " as stated in the obituary notice cited above. For, anyone who knows the history of " Hampton," that fine old estate near Baltimore, is cognizant of the fact that Priscilla Dorsey, youngest of the ten children of the Hon. Caleb Dorsey, Jr., " of Belmont " (by his wife Priscilla Hill), married on 17 Oct. 1782, at Old St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, Charles Ridgely Carnan,[4] son of John and Achsah (Ridgely) Carnan, and grandson of

[1] See *Register of the Ky. State Historical Society,* Vol. 27 (Jan. 1929) p. 446.
[2] The italics are the writer's.
[3] See *Md. Hist. Magazine,* V, 333.
[4] Conformable to a provision in the will of his childless uncle, Captain Charles Ridgely, dated 7 Apl. 1786, young Carnan adopted the name " Charles Carnan Ridgely " and was also styled " of Hampton."

Charles and Prudence Carnan, of Reading, in Berkshire, England. The chart which follows may serve to explain the lineage:



Now, Priscilla Dorsey, the " war bride " of Lieut. Robert Wilmot of Baltimore County, was married 9 October, 1781; or just one year before the marriage of Priscilla Dorsey (daughter of Caleb), to Charles Ridgely Carnan (afterward known as Charles Carnan Ridgely). It is impossible that these two Priscillas were one and the same person, due to the fact that Priscilla Wilmot signed as a witness to the will of Capt. Charles Ridgely (d. 1790), dated 7 Apl. 1786 (Balto. Will Book No. 4, folios 450 *et seq.*) and, further, that the Captain's widow, Mrs. Rebecca Ridgely (née Dorsey), in her will dated 22 Apl. 1811 and proved 3 Oct. 1812, bequeathed to her namesake " Rebecca Wilmot, daughter of Robert and Priscilla Wilmot [of Kentucky] the sum of two hundred pounds current money of Maryland " (Baltimore Will Book No. 9, folio 265). The Wilmot home in Bourbon County, Ky., was situated near the railroad which runs between Paris and Lexington, about ten miles northeast of the latter place.

According to Maryland and Kentucky sources, Robert and Priscilla (Dorsey) Wilmot had issue as follows:

1. William, b. 2 Apl. 1783; d. 1834, unmarried.
2. Rebecca, b. 3 June 1785; married Joel B. Scott of Franklin Co., Ky., and had issue.
3. Charles, b. 25 Nov. 1786; died in infancy.
4. Charles, b. 27 Apl. 1788. No record.
5. Robert, b. 5 Jan. 1791; married Miss Mansfield and had issue.
6. Polly, b. 3 Nov. 1792; married Philemon Price and removed to Illinois.
7. Sarah, b. 13 Aug. 1794; married (1)—Flint, (2)—Chenowith, (3)—Samuel Hitt.
8. Priscilla, b. 20 Mch. 1798; married Richard Keene of Scott Co., Ky., and had issue.
9. Nancy, b. 17 Aug. 1799; married Daniel Stephens and removed to Indiana.
10. John, b. 26 May 1802; died young.
11. John Fletcher, b. 13 Jan. 1806; married Harriet ——.

There were several "Priscillas" in the Dorsey family of Maryland, which has been a prolific one, especially in the counties of Anne Arundel, Baltimore and Howard. The Dorsey's spread themselves through town, hamlet and countryside, and it has been said that even "the woods were full of them." Can anyone solve the problem of the parentage of Mrs. Priscilla (Dorsey) Wilmot?

Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage

May 3—May 13, 1947

The Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland have announced that the 10th annual pilgrimage to Maryland homes and gardens will begin on May 3 with visits to St. Mary's and Harford Counties. Some of the houses to be open in St. Mary's County are: "Sotterley," Cross Manor," "West St. Mary's," "Mulberry Fields," and "Cremona." In Harford County visitors may see "Mt. Pleasant," "Oakington," "Medical Hall," "Joshua's Meadow" and "Mt. Ararat."

Other counties are to be visited in the following order: Charles on May 4, Talbot on May 5, Queen Anne's on May 6, Baltimore suburbs on May 6; Kent on May 7, Howard on May 7, Montgomery on May 7, Cecil on May 8, Green Spring and Worthington Valleys on May 8, Long Green, Dulany and Limekiln Valleys on May 9, Baltimore environs on May 10, Prince George's on May 11, Lower Anne Arundel on May 12, Annapolis and Upper Anne Arundel on May 13. Proceeds of the tour will go to maintain the Hammond-Harwood House, Annapolis. The large number of places to be visited is due to the foresight and planning of the Pilgrimage Committee of the Federated Garden Clubs headed by Mrs. Charles E. Rieman, Mrs. Gideon N. Stieff, Mrs. H. Rowland Clapp, Mrs. Martin Gillet, Mrs. Blanchard Randall, Jr. and Mrs. Harry R. Slack, Jr.

St. Paul's P. E. Cemetery, Baltimore—Effort is being made to place the preservation of the old graveyard belonging to St. Paul's, bounded by Redwood and Lombard Streets and Fremont Avenue, on an assured footing. A committee of the Vestry under the chairmanship of the Register, Mr. W. Graham Bowdoin, Jr., has appealed to interested persons to provide funds for its endowment. The cemetery became the last resting place of early Baltimoreans in 1818 when the graves were removed from the churchyard surrounding the early St. Paul's in the block now fronting on Charles St. from Lexington to Saratoga Sts. Among those interred there are such noted figures as Samuel Chase, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Colonel John Eager Howard, Colonel Tench Tilghman, Colonel George Armistead, and Daniel Dulany. Conversations with muni-

cipal officials, looking toward the fulfillment of the plans of the Committee, have been held. The interest of the City is based on the advantage of this breathing space in a congested area and the need of assuring its future preservation. Interested persons are asked to communicate with Mr. Bowdoin.

Archives Course—The third summer training course in the preservation and administration of archives for custodians of public, institutional, and business archves will be offered by the American University in Washington, D. C., with the cooperation of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records from July 28 through August 23, 1947. Ernst Posner, Professor of History and Archives Administration, The American University; Oliver W. Holmes, Program Advisor to the Archivist of the United States; Morris L. Radoff, Archivist, Maryland Hall of Records; and other members of the staffs of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records will serve as instructors. Detailed information may be obtained by writing to Dr. Posner, School of Social Sciences, American University, 1901 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Historical Essay Contest—To stimulate interest in the American Colonial period, its family and community life and its great events and figures, the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York offers a cash prize of $250. for the best essay on a subject connected with that period. The Contest will be open to any citizen of the United States who has in his possession or who has access to original family documents or records, not hitherto published, that relate to a phase of the American colonial period between the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, 1607, and the Battle of Lexington, 1775. The contest will close October 31, 1947. Further information may be obtained from the Librarian's Office, Maryland Historical Society.

Holly Hill—Two of the photographs of "Holly Hill" which were used in this Magazine for December last were taken by Mr. Cortland V. D. Hubbard of Philadelphia and should have been credited to him. They are to appear in a book now in course of joint preparation by Mr. Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Mr. Hubbard, on the subject of historic houses of Maryland. The photographs were of the exterior, printed on the cover, and the view of the entrance hall opposite page 328. The Magazine regrets that the source of these pictures was not known in time to include this information in the last issue.—EDITOR

Ricord—Wish to obtain biographical information about one Ricord, father of Jean Baptiste, Philippe, and Alexandre Ricord. He was a French émigré who fled France during the Revolution, went first to Italy, then to French West Indies, and finally, about 1794, to Baltimore. Jean Baptiste Ricord was born in France, but Alexandre was born in Baltimore in 1798 and Philippe in 1800.

Andrew Forest Muir
Iolani School, Honolulu 3, Hawaii.

Allison (*Allanson*)—Should like to know if Thos. Allison (1696-1733) of Charles County, Md. had issue. His wife was Barbara Burch, daughter of Olive and Barbara Burch; Allison was the son of Charles (d. 1698) and Susannah Posey, daughter of John and Susannah Posey, and grandson of Thos. Allanson (b. 1638) and Mary Roberts of Christian Temple Manor. Allisons of Prince George's County, who might be sons of the above mentioned Thos. Allison were: Thos. Allison (d. 1774), wife Sarah, sexton of Rock Creek Church in 1751; Charles Allison (1723-after 1795), wife Barbara Moore, daughter of James and Barbara Moore; Richard (d. 1808) wife, Sarah, whose son was John Burch; Benjamin, wife Mary, whose sons were Posey (1752-1834) and Burch (1763-1834).

T. B. Gotham
1692 Sunset Ave., Akron (1) Ohio

Contributors

Dr. Wendell H. Stephenson, Professor of History at Tulane University, New Orleans, is Editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* a leading journal of American history. He has been Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Tulane, President of the Southern Historical Association, Editor of the *Journal of Southern History* and author or editor of many biographical and historical works. ☆ Contributor to this magazine and other publications, Mrs. William F. (Edith Rossiter) Bevan is a born researcher and has done invaluable work in certain phases of Maryland history. ☆ Lilian Giffen is an accomplished artist of Baltimore who has from time to time indulged her literary bent in writing verse, fiction and historical articles. She is a former president of the Baltimore Water Color Club. ☆ Specialist in the archival records of Maryland, Louise E. Magruder is an experienced genealogist, an ardent worker in the Annapolis Chapter of the American Red Cross and active in garden clubs and patriotic societies. ☆ C. A. Weslager is the President of the Delaware Archaeological Society and author of *Delaware's Forgotten Folk* (1943) and of a number of works on Delaware archaeology.

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The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, and of the *Archives of Maryland* by direction of the State.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily in summer except Sundays, 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.

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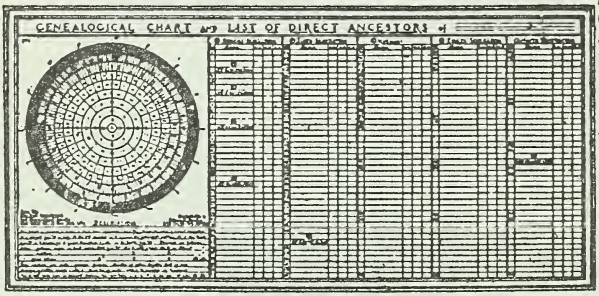

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A Quarterly

Volume XLII JUNE, 1947 Number 2

TENCH TILGHMAN—MARYLAND PATRIOT

By Homer Bast

BY the summer of 1776 George Washington's secretarial staff had been depleted. Official correspondence lay unanswered, and essential administrative paper work was at a standstill. Colonel Robert Harrison was the only aide performing these irksome but vitally important duties of the Commander-in-Chief. The staff was small for the needs of the General, and until an aide could be found, various persons assisted in this phase of the work.[1] Learning of Washington's need, Captain Tench Tilghman,

[1] E. S. Whiteley, *Washington and His Aides-De-Camp* (New York, 1936), 5-24. This volume is a popular and entertaining narrative about the aides serving with Washington during the Revolution. The life of Tilghman, one of these thirty-two gentlemen, is briefly sketched. It is regretted that there are no references to the author's source materials. For the only secondary source yet published on this Maryland patriot, see *Memoir of Lt. Colonel Tench Tilghman*, published anonymously, (Albany, 1876), an eulogistic biography containing in an appendix some of the Tilghman diaries and letters. It was copyrighted by Oswald Tilghman (1841-1932),

stationed with the Continental army in New Jersey, volunteered for service. In spite of his Loyalist connections,[2] he was accepted and joined Washington's staff on August 8, 1776.[3]

The new aide, the eldest son of James[4] and Ann (Francis) Tilghman, was born on December 25, 1744, at "Fausley" on Fausley Creek a branch of the Miles River, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.[5] A great grandson of Dr. Richard Tilghman,[6] who

great grandson of the subject, and was included by him with the appendixes in the *History of Talbot County* (1915), on the title page of which Oswald Tilghman gives the authorship, Dr. Samuel A. Harrison. The latter's wife was Belle, younger daughter of Dr. Harrison, whom he married in 1884. Their son, Colonel Harrison Tilghman, a member of the Society, has kindly reviewed this paper before printing.

[2] The political opinions of Tench Tilghman's family caused him much embarrassment and many anxious moments during the conflict. His father believed implicitly in the royal authority of the King over the colonies and publicly advocated the continued connection with England. In addition, the aide's young brother, Philemon, was serving with the British naval forces operating against the colonies. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, February 22, 1777, Tench Tilghman to ———, February 27, 1778, *Memoir*, 17: 151-153.

[3] Washington to John Sullivan, May 11, 1781, J. Sparks, ed., *Life and Writings of George Washington* (Boston, 1858), VIII, 38; F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* (Washington, 1914).

[4] James Tilghman was born on December 6, 1716, the fifth of the six sons of Richard Tilghman II of the Hermitage, and Anna Maria Lloyd, his wife. On September 30, 1743, James Tilghman married Ann, daughter of Tench Francis of "Fausley," Talbot County, Maryland, at Christ Church, Philadelphia. From 1762-1763, James Tilghman served in the Maryland Assembly. Moving to Philadelphia the next year, he was elected councilman. Through sheer ability he soon became well known, attracting the attention of Governor John Penn, who appointed him in January, 1767, to the Pennsylvania Proprietary and Governor's Council. Two years later Tilghman was chosen secretary of the Land Office. Designated as one of the commissioners to negotiate with the Indians at Fort Stanwix in 1768, James was selected in 1774, to treat with Lord Dunmore on the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary line. Returning to Maryland during the Revolution, James Tilghman lived until August 24, 1793. He is buried at St. Paul's Church in Kent County. "The Tilghman Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 281, 369; E. S. Delaplaine, "Life of Thomas Johnson," *ibid.*, XIV (1919), 56, 176; J. B. Linn and W. H. Egle, eds., *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, 1879-1890), second series, IX, 733, 625; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 1771-1776 (Philadelphia, 1854), II, 281; X, 180-181.

[5] "The Tilghman Family," *op. cit.*, 369; G. A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), 255.

[6] Dr. Richard Tilghman, the son of Oswald Tilghman, a member of the Grocer's Company of London, was born on September 3, 1626. Through his cousin, Samuel Tilghman, a ship captain, the Doctor early became acquainted with the new world. On January 23, 1657, Richard was issued a warrant by Lord Baltimore for 1000 acres of land on the Tred Avon Creek. Fulfilling the requirements for patent validation, Tilghman and his family embarked on the "Elizabeth and Mary" for Maryland in 1661. Two years later, on July 28, 1663, he purchased and settled on the 400 acre "Hermitage" in Kent County (now Queen Anne's). On May 1, 1669, he was commissioned high sheriff of Talbot County, a position he held for two years. At his death in 1675, he left some 187,289 pounds of tobacco and 8200 acres of land. "The Tilghman Family," *op. cit.*, 184, 280; J. T. Scharf, *History*

came to the colonies in 1661, Tench was also the grandson of Colonel Richard Tilghman,[7] a leading citizen of Maryland in the early eighteenth century. First attending school in Easton, Tench Tilghman later was instructed privately by the Reverend James Gordon, rector of the St. Michael's parish. In May, 1758, at the age of fourteen young Tilghman entered the College of Philadelphia.[8] Here he pursued a graded course of higher studies and acquired a broad foundation of liberal culture. Following three years of instruction from the best masters in college, he graduated in 1761.[9] After a brief mercantile apprenticeship, Tilghman joined an uncle, Tench Francis, about 1763, in the formation of the Francis-Tilghman Company of Philadelphia.[10] Unlike many of the partnerships founded to finance a single trading venture, this was a permanent one that lasted until the Revolution. With connections abroad the firm engaged in foreign transactions as well as local business. Notwithstanding the fluctuations in value of paper money, the Barbary pirates and the British administrative regulations, the business was financially successful. The Francis-Tilghman Company was loyal to the colonies in the period prior to

of Maryland (Baltimore, 1879), I, 120-124; "First Land Grants in Maryland," *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, III (1908), 167; Hanson, *op. cit.*, 231; P. G. Skirven, "Pioneers of The Eastern Shore," *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 410; W. H. Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1884 ——), II, 244; Tilghman family clippings found in the Maryland Historical Society.

[7] Colonel Richard Tilghman II of "The Hermitage," born on February 23, 1672, acquired most of his father's possessions. He was elected representative from Talbot to the Maryland Assembly from 1698 to 1702. In 1711, the Lord Proprietor appointed him to the Council, a position he retained to his death. Continuing his political ways, Colonel Tilghman was designated in 1722 to fill the post of Chancellor of the Province and Keeper of the Seal. An ardent Anglican churchman, Tilghman advanced the money to erect the second Chester church in Kent in 1697. In addition, he was named in 1723, as one of the Board of Visitors for the encouragement of learning and the establishment of the first public school in Queen Anne's County. At his death Tilghman left 10,000 acres of land to his eight children. Hanson, *op. cit.*, 231; "The Tilghman Family," *op. cit.*, 281; Calvert Papers, Maryland Hist. Soc., No. 275; H. D. Richardson, *Sidelights on Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1928), II, 236-237; *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 52; IX, 228.

[8] *University of Pennsylvania Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College, 1749-1893.* When Tench entered college his grandfather, Tench Francis, assumed the direction of his education. This guidance lasted for only a short time because Francis's health broke down from overwork, and he passed away following a lingering illness. Hanson, *op. cit.*, 296.

[9] "List of the Southern Graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, 1757-1783," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, first series, VI (1898), 217.

[10] Tench Tilghman to Matthew Tilghman, June 10, 1782, *Memoir*, 122-126; Willing to Morris, February 12, 1778, T. W. Balch, *Willing Letters and Papers, 1731-1821* (Philadelphia, 1922), 66.

the conflict. Both members of the firm signed the Non-Importation Resolution and continued thereafter to support the boycott of English goods at the request of the colonies.[11] As the controversy with England became more intense, political alignments were formulated. Although his father was strongly loyal to the crown, Tilghman did not openly support either side until the battle of Bunker Hill. Then, seeing no hope for compromise, and becoming convinced " that no terms were to be expected except blind submission," he took the side of the colonies.[12] In order to actively participate in the conflict, Tilghman terminated his business connections in the early summer of 1775, and enlisted as a lieutenant in the " Ladies Light Infantry," a Philadelphia military unit.[13]

Before Tench Tilghman was called to active military duty, he served the colonies in a diplomatic capacity. At the outbreak of the war, Congress was anxious to negotiate a treaty with the Six Nations in order to enlist their neutrality in the conflict. Late in the summer of 1775, a Congressional commission was created to confer with the Indians at Albany. Tilghman was appointed secretary-treasurer of this commission through the influence of his uncle, Colonel Turbett Francis. The commissioners were vested with powers to treat with the Indians, to preserve peace and friendship and to prevent their participation in the war. A speech to the Six Nations was formulated by Congress to be read at the meeting, and an appropriation of $750 was designated for entertainment.[14] The commissioners left New York on August 5, 1775. They arrived at German Flats on August 13th. Here the Indians were informed of the purpose of the Albany meeting and were invited

[11] P. Force, ed., *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-1846), fourth series, I, 905; Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, April 28, 1777, Morris MSS. All the Morris MSS used in this paper may be found in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

[12] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, February 22, 1777, *Memoir*, 151-153.

[13] *Memoir*, 14-15. At this time owing to the differences between the Governor and Assembly, Pennsylvania was without a militia or any organized military force whatever. In spite of this, volunteer military associations were formed in the neighborhood of Philadelphia during the summer of 1775. The military unit with which Tilghman became connected was called the " Ladies Light Infantry " by those who thought well of the company and its objectives. By the Tories and others who had little respect for its military efficiency, it was known as the " Silk Stockings."

[14] *American Archives*, fourth series, III, 473-496. The commissioners appointed were General Philip Schuyler, Philip Livingston, Colonel Francis and a Mr. Dewer. W. H. Mohr, *Federal Indian Relations* (Philadelphia, 1933) gives an excellent account of the Northern Indian situation at this time.

to attend. In addition, the commissioners asked that runners be sent to Canada summoning the Indian tribes of that country to the parley. This the Six Nations refused to do. Rather than press the point, the preliminary meeting ended, and the scene of negotiations was shifted to Albany on August 19th. The tribes were slow in gathering, and it was not until August 25th that actual treaty discussions commenced.[15] Even then many of the influential members of the Onondagas, Mohawks, Cayugas and Senecas were absent.[16] In spite of the poor representation of the Indian tribes, the pipe of peace was smoked, and General Schuyler delivered the Congressional message. The Indians, in turn, promised their neutrality in the conflict and presented their demands for retribution of old grievances. The commissioners agreed that all questions pertaining to land disputes should be referred to Congress. On September 2, 1775, the conference was concluded, and the commissioners embarked for New York.[17] Tench Tilghman's actual duties at this meeting have not been definitely ascertained. However, it would appear that as secretary he compiled notes on the daily activities of the conference and later incorporated them in the official report of the commissioners to Congress.

Sometime after the conclusion of the Indian mission, Tilghman became a captain in the "Flying Camp," an organization composed primarily of Pennsylvania troops in the Continental army.[18] It was while serving at an advanced post in New Jersey that he was selected as secretarial aide and a member of Washington's official family.[19] Though Tench Tilghman was rather unobtrusive, his duties were essential to the smooth and the efficient operation of headquarters. Not only was he intimately associated with everything of a confidential nature, but also he relieved the Commander-in-Chief of many incidental matters. The aide's most

[15] Tench Tilghman's Journal, August 6-24, 1775, *Memoir*, 79-93; photostat copy in Maryland Historical Society. This private journal gives a detailed account of Tilghman's experiences and impressions with the commissioners.

[16] *American Archives*, Fourth series, III, 473-496.

[17] Tench Tilghman's Journal, August 24-September 4, 1775, *Memoir*, 92-101.

[18] C. J. Stillé, ed., *Life and Writings of John Dickinson* (Philadelphia, 1895), I, 156; *Memoir*, 25; General Officers of the Pennsylvania Line, *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, X, 292.

[19] Lafayette said of the staff, "He presented me to . . . his family then composed of Colonels Hamilton and Tilghman, his secretaries and his adjutants and other officers attached to the General for what is called a family." C. Tower, *The Marquis de Lafayette in the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1895), II, 180.

important duty, however, consisted in drafting correspondence and maintaining records.[20] There were documents acquainting influential men and legislative bodies with the army's desperate needs; dispatches that gave military information to field officers; permits for passports; letters undertaking the difficult task of securing supplies and correspondence with officers concerning their new orders and commands. In addition to these duties, he signed bills of credit, gathered information from prisoners and deserters, interviewed officers on official business, received visitors and assisted the General constantly at headquarters and in the field.[21]

Shortly after Tench Tilghman joined the official family, he undertook the task of assisting the New York assembly in obtaining information relative to enemy operations. Unable to meet permanently in any one place, the New York convention adopted unusual methods in learning of these movements. The convention's committee of correspondence, through Colonel Duer, asked the Marylander to write a daily letter from headquarters telling all incidents of interest or service to the convention. Accepting the task with the approval of Washington, Tilghman carried on this correspondence from September 22nd to October 21, 1776.[22] At this time the letters were interrupted because of the military activities that followed. The aide's dispatches to the New York assembly, written in the midst of the campaign, chronicle very minutely the history of this short period. In the summer of 1777, the Pennsylvania council, knowing of Tilghman's letters the previous year to the New York convention, pleaded with him to supply them with essential military information.[23] Because of the press of official duties, a regular letter was out of the question.

[20] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, October 7, 1776, *Memoir*, 142-143. The General's requirements for his secretarial aides were severe and exacting. Not only must the officer be able to write a good letter quickly, but also he must be intelligent, methodical and diligent, with a knack for understanding the many different matters coming before headquarters. J. C. Hamilton, *History of the Republic of the United States* (New York, 1857), I, 173.

[21] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, August 13, August 18 and September 3, 1776, *Memoir*, 130-135. The aides had little time for pleasure. As for high living, that was banished from the army and from the General's family in particular.

[22] William Duer to Tench Tilghman, ————, George Washington to James Tilghman, June 5, 1786, *Memoir*, 119-122, 128. The New York committee was composed of William Allison, R. R. Livingston, Henry Wisner and William Duer.

[23] Timothy Matlack to Tench Tilghman, October 13, 1777, *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, III, 134.

But, occasionally, Tilghman did pass on to the councilmen a summary of events from the field.[24] What news he imparted was received with appreciation by the Pennsylvanians.[25]

During Tilghman's first year with the General, he participated in the Battle of Long Island, the skirmishes of Kip's Bay [26] and Harlem Heights, the retreat across New Jersey, and the sparkling victories at Trenton and Princeton. At Long Island, when the British broke through the American lines, Tilghman assisted Washington in extracting the colonial troops by moving them across the river to New York under cover of darkness. Both men were fortunate to escape in the last boat. Secrecy had been the keynote to success, and few other than Tilghman were aware of the strategy until the escape movement was underway.[27] With the establishing of a relatively strong position on Harlem Heights, the aide hoped further fighting might be avoided.[28] This was merely wishful thinking, however, for the enemy soon attacked with overwhelming forces. Although outwitting the British by skillful maneuvering, Washington, fearing enemy reinforcements, sent his aide to recall the Americans.[29] It was here that Tilghman animated the troops by his gallantry before the enemy.[30]

[24] Tench Tilghman to President Wharton, October 15, 1777, *ibid.*, first series, V, 674.

[25] President Wharton to Tench Tilghman, October 17, 1777, *ibid.*, second series, III, 137. In this letter President Wharton contended the people "have no expectation of a regular correspondence with you but they cannot forebare expressing a wish that you will give a line on such interesting events as deserve particular notice. These expresses are intended to gain the intelligence necessary to keep up the spirits of the people and excite them if it be possible to some degree of vigor."

[26] It was here that two brigades of New England troops ran from a small party of British regulars. Previously, Washington had done all in his power to convince them there was no danger. The General laid his cane over some of the officers who started the panic. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 16, 1776, *Memoir*, 137.

[27] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 134-135.

[28] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 137. "The General is determined to avoid a battle for more reasons than one." Tilghman, too hoped that the campaign would waste away without any bloodshed. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 9, 1776, *ibid.*, 135-136.

[29] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 19, 1776, *ibid.*, 138-139. Writing of this engagement Tilghman remarked, ". . . We find their force was much more considerable than we imagined when the General ordered the Attack. . . . The prisoners we took, told us, they expected our Men would have run away as they did the day before, but that they were never more surprised than to see us advancing to attack them. The Virginia and Maryland troops bear the Palm. They are well officered and behave with as much regularity as possible . . ."

[30] W. B. Reed, ed., *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia, 1847), I, 238.

The colonials needed a military success to bolster their spirit. A favorable opportunity came toward the close of 1776. Howe had scattered German mercenaries across New Jersey to protect his gains. At Trenton his flank was exposed and open to a surprise attack. It was the moment for a brilliant military stroke. On Christmas night, 1776, Washington, with Tilghman at his side, led some 2400 ragged colonials across the Delaware nine miles above Trenton and crushed the Hessians with a lightning blow.[31] Following this victory, Washington evaded the retaliating forces of Lord Cornwallis for several days. But just before the British closed in, the American General delivered another unexpected blow against their rear at Princeton, January 3, 1777. At the conclusion of the campaign, winter quarters were established at Morristown, a strategic point from which enemy actions could be observed.[32] The engagements over, Washington's aide could truthfully say that in the field he was on horseback from sunrise to sunset. The year had come and gone, and Tilghman was not found lacking.

With the cessation of hostilities[33] Tench Tilghman settled down to a winter of hard work. Immediately, he was faced with formulating dispatches, answering correspondence, procuring supplies,[34] running errands and making preparations for the summer campaign. In a letter to Robert Morris, the aide said: "Winter quarters is to us what the stoppage of navigation used to be to you, rather an increase in business in the way of paper, pens and ink."[35] Harrison's constant sickness threw on Tilghman the brunt of the secretarial work. The tremendous volume of correspondence made it impossible for him to leave headquarters for even a short visit

[31] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, December 27, 1776, *Memoir*, 148-149.

[32] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, January 11, 1777, *ibid.*, 150. Not only had the spirit of the Americans been revived through the victories of Trenton and Princeton, but also adequate supplies had been captured for the winter. Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, February 2, 1778, no ed., *Collections of the New York Historical Society* (New York, 1868-1923), XI, 435.

[33] Occasionally a skirmish developed in which the results were indecisive. "The enemy came out yesterday from Amboy in a manner so much more formidable than usual that we expected a general attack, but our advanced parties gave them so warm a reception that they made a retreat and reached their quarters about sunset. The whole day was spent in skirmishing." Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, February 24, 1777, Morris MSS.

[34] Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, January 17, 1777, Morris MSS.

[35] Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, February 2, 1778, *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, XI, 435.

home. In spite of the enormous amount of work, he still found time, however, to record the ideas, discussions and debates of the official family as they talked of daily events, the state of the nation and the proposed plans for the coming campaign.

By the spring of 1777, considerable speculation had arisen among the staff regarding British plans in the coming months. Two possibilities were anticipated; either a strike was to be launched at Philadelphia or a junction made with Burgoyne in the north. In an effort to learn of Howe's intentions, Tilghman was sent to question the British prisoners and deserters. The aide learned from this important source that the English planned to attack Philadelphia.[36] The accuracy and reliability of the information was validated when the enemy transports and supporting fleet appeared in the Chesapeake Bay. Warned of Howe's plans, Washington hurriedly left Morristown for Philadelphia to block this threat to the Capital. On September 11, 1777, at Brandywine, where they engaged a superior force, the Americans were defeated with severe losses. Two weeks later the British occupied Philadelphia. On October 4th, this time at Germantown, Washington again attacked the enemy. Here the colonials, bewildered by fog and short of ammunition, withdrew unmindful of the leadership and bravery of Tilghman, who had actively participated in the battle.[37]

While Colonel Tilghman was waiting for Howe's next move, he learned of the brilliant American victory at Saratoga on October 17, 1777. Immediately realizing its significance with regard to the French alliance, he wrote Morris urging him to send the news to Europe " by every available means." [38] For the first time Tilghman had grounds for his enthusiastic confidence in the outcome of the struggle. This attitude was not to last for long. Just before Christmas, 1777, Washington established winter quarters at Valley Forge. Here the army was to face its most critical period.[39]

[36] Tench Tilghman to Colonel Henry Jackson, June 18, 1778, Morris MSS.

[37] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, October 6, 1777, *Memoir*, 160-161. Commenting on the battle at Germantown, Tilghman remarked: " Had the day been clear, everything was in our Hands, but one of our Columns pressing down were mistaken in the fog by General Greens for the enemy, while ours mistook his Troops in the same Manner. This unluckily made both halt, and quickly occasioned both to retreat, without any real Cause. The enemy, taking advantage of cessation of the pursuit, rallied their men and got up a Reinforcement . . ."

[38] Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, October 18, 1777, Morris MSS.

[39] Tench Tilghman to ————, January 18, 1778, Morris MSS. With the army

In the solution of many of the pressing problems, Tilghman assumed an active role. The procurement of supplies and construction of adequate living quarters needed immediate attention. Men starved and froze because Congress had no money. Throughout the fall Washington's aide had written many letters and dispatches to Congress and the commissary department pleading for flour, food, cattle and clothes. In spite of his efforts few supplies had been received from this source. In such an emergency drastic methods were used. General Greene was dispatched with orders to secure food by any means at his command. Captain Lee was detached to Delaware and Maryland with the same orders, and Tilghman was sent into New Jersey. In a few days the army had been supplied. Greene returned with " every animal fit to slaughter." Lee found flocks of fowl in the marsh meadows of Delaware, and Tilghman collected abundantly in New Jersey.[40] By January the army was settled in substantial shelters, and the logistic battle had been won.[41]

Even though these questions were settled there were others of an equally serious nature. With the army in winter quarters, many officers came to headquarters to resign their commissions. Conspicuous among these men were those who complained of the inadequate pay. There were also others who gave no reason for their request, contending only that they did not wish to remain in the service under any circumstances. Some of the officers were satisfied with furloughs. Others were persuaded to stay by promises of additional compensation in the near future. On previous occasions Tilghman, who served for much of the time without pay, had also complained bitterly about this same problem, as well as the other difficulties and hardships confronting the soldiers. Contending that good officers were essential and must be retained in the service, he hoped that until additional pay could be provided they would refrain from accepting bribes and graft. As a partial

at Valley Forge, Tilghman contended that the country was completely defended. Sometime before the middle of January the British attacked in force, but small American parties extended along their line prevented them from doing any damage. Following this skirmish military operations ceased entirely for the winter.

[40] J. Marshall, *Life of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1804), III, 368-372.

[41] Tench Tilghman to General ———, January 18, 1778, Morris MSS. Tilghman commented on this condition, " Our men have all got comfortably covered in their huts and better quarters are not in the World. I mean as to warmth and I believe will turn out so as to health."

solution for these ills, he advocated the reorganization of the army. In addition, he urged his friend, Morris, to support this movement in Congress.[42]

The terrible winter of 1777-1778 brought not only cold, privations and sufferings, but also the intrigue of the Conway Cabal. Because of the indiscretion of Conway and Wilkinson, Tilghman, along with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, discovered and publicized the movement.[43] Through penetrating, vituperative and revealing letters to high government officials, the aide made the facts known. Crying out bitterly against Conway, whom he declared to be at the bottom of " these scurrilious attacks," Tilghman played an important part in unearthing the conspiracy, which for a time Washington never suspected. Public opinion favored the Commander-in-Chief, and in the spring of 1778, the Cabal collapsed.[44]

The Americans left Valley Forge in the early summer of 1778. Previously in need of training and drill, the army had been improved during the winter through the efforts of Steuben and the aides. In fact, the Maryland patriot was overjoyed at the increased efficiency and excellent morale of the troops, remarking that " Not one of the men is a soldier till he puts his gun to his shoulder and then he's a wonder." [45] On June 18, 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia and begun their retreat across New Jersey toward New York.[46] At last Washington had a favorable opportunity for an offensive. Unfortunately, the insubordination of General Charles Lee [47] cost the Americans an easy

[42] Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, February 2, 1778, *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, XI, 433-435; Tench Tilghman to Major James Taylor, April 4, 1778, Morris MSS.

[43] L. A. Leonard, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York, 1918), 161-172.

[44] Tench Tilghman to General ————, January 18, 1778, Morris MSS. According to Tilghman in this letter, nothing had affected his Commander-in-Chief as much as " this dirty underhanded dealing."

[45] Leonard, *op. cit.*, 156-157.

[46] Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, June 12, 1778, *Memoir*, 170-171. By this time the entry of France into the war was a reality. British troops were being withdrawn from the mainland and transported to the West Indies. The French fleet under Count d'Estaing threatened to cut off the supplies of the British army in Philadelphia, thus necessitating evacuation of the city.

[47] The case of Lee was, indeed, a strange one. Lee was an ex-British army officer of experience, who had joined the Americans. During 1776, he became a military idol of his adopted country. Even Washington's staff paid homage to him, Tilghman writing, " You asked if General Lee is in health and our people bold. I answer both in the affirmative. His appearance among us has contributed not a

victory at Monmouth on June 28th. As both armies moved northward in nearly parallel lines, the Commander-in-Chief planned to engage the British rear. On June 27th, Lee, commanding an advanced American division, was ordered to attack the English the following morning. As the main body of troops advanced in support of Lee, Tilghman received word that Lee's force was retreating. Riding ahead to investigate, the aide discovered the truth of the rumor. Nothing definite could be ascertained, however, until Lee appeared. Under questioning, he claimed that he disagreed with the plan of battle, and, consequently, refused to engage the British. To support his contention Lee cited the contradictory intelligence reports of the enemy's strength and the confusion resulting among the colonials from disobeyed orders. Through Tilghman's timely suggestions Washington finally extricated his troops. At Lee's court martial somewhat later, Tilghman was an important witness. With Washington at Monmouth, Tench Tilghman knew the facts and that testimony counted heavily against the defendant.[48] Lee later complained that Washington's mind had been poisoned by " some of those dirty yearlings who will forever insinuate themselves near persons in high offices." [49]

After the battle of Monmouth plans were formulated with d'Estaing for a joint land and sea attack on Newport. Deserters had informed Colonel Tilghman that the British quartered there were short of supplies and in a critical position. The moment was propitious for the beginning of Washington's plan to drive the enemy from the port cities during the summer of 1778. Before the necessary coordination could be attained, the French fleet was damaged in a storm.[50] This, coupled with d'Estang's timidity,

little to the latter." Later Lee was captured and held prisoner by the British. In a letter to Morris in 1777, Tilghman expressed his fear that Lee, smarting under a prolonged detention, might divulge secret information. Eventually through the efforts of Congress, conditions were arranged for his release. This matter of prisoner exchange was a complicated and difficult business. The correct number of privates to exchange for officers was a delicate point. The Americans needed their officers, but it was a bad policy to pardon too many privates. Added to this was the interference from state legislatures and Congress. All the evils of the system particularly manifested themselves in this instance. W. Irving, *Life of Washington* (New York, 1859), II, 383; Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, March 2 and April 8, 1777, October 10, 1780, Morris MSS; Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 25, 1776, *Memoir*, 139-140.

[48] Tench Tilghman's testimony at the court martial proceedings of General Lee, in *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, Lee Papers, III, 79-82.

[49] Whiteley, *op. cit.*, 77.

[50] Tench Tilghman to Richard Peters, August 2, 1778, Morris MSS. In this

caused a cancellation of the plans, and Washington went into winter quarters. Distributing his forces around New York, the General set up his headquarters at Middlebrook.[51] Tilghman was immediately faced with the usual secretarial duties. These were soon interrupted, however, for the General designated the Marylander to accompany him to Philadelphia for a conference with Congress. Reaching the Capital on the evening of December 22, 1778, the party stopped at the home of Henry Laurens. Having entertained the enemy the previous year, the City was celebrating the American return with equal zest. However, after the trials and tribulations of headquarters, the industrious, conscientious aide felt out of place in the Capital's wealthy society. In a letter to his friend, James McHenry, Tilghman said: "I suppose you think we must be by this time so wedded to sweet Philadelphia that it will break our hearts to leave it. Far from it my friend. I can speak for myself and I am pretty certain I can answer for all when I say that we anxiously wait for the moment that gives us liberty to return to humble Middlebrook." Philadelphia, undoubtedly, answered well for a person with plenty of money and much leisure time. But for Washington and Tilghman, who were in neither of these positions, the situation was different. Again in a letter to McHenry, the Marylander said: "We seem to work hard and yet we do nothing in fact we have no time to do anything and that is the true reason why dinner at 5, tea at 8 or 9, supper and rye all night is the round." [52] Unable to endure the artificiality of the Capital following the termination of the conference, the aide requested and was granted leave to visit his father in Chestertown, Maryland.[53]

During the winter of 1778-1779, it became clear that no impor-

letter Tilghman commented, "I do not think it requires a prophet to pronounce that matters are very bad with the British."

[51] Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, October 24, 1778, Morris MSS.

[52] Tench Tilghman to James McHenry, January 25, 1779, James McHenry MSS, Library of Congress. Continuing this letter, Colonel Tilghman said: "Does not the republic go on charmingly . . . But even Americans are a sharp people and we are in more senses than one and if we do not keep a sharp lookout we shall be little better for the profusion of money and no small quantity of blood had been spent. All cry out that nothing but economy can save us and yet no one allows that he or she is extravagant. I will not touch upon politics. They are too valuable to trust to paper and wax. You shall hear much when we fill the sociable Bunks again where all is under the secure lock and key of friendship"; Whiteley, *op. cit.*, 92-93.

[53] *Memoir*, 46-47.

tant offensive operations would be undertaken by the British in the North. Clinton, while retaining enough troops in New York for defensive purposes, had dispatched large forces southward. Washington, on the other hand, with insufficient men, equipment and supplies was compelled to adopt a policy of watchful waiting. In such a situation the staff could plan only skirmishes or indecisive raids. The summer of 1779, therefore, passed without a major incident. Winter found the Americans encamped at Morristown, once again suffering from the intense cold and short rations. Meanwhile, Tilghman's secretarial work and the other duties had lessened considerably with the shift in fighting. With leisure time he had occasion to write many letters deploring the course of Congress and the ineptness of its exertions in waging war.

Because of these indiscreet letters and the known sentiments of members of his family, Tench Tilghman was exposed to criticism and misrepresentation. Attempts had been made throughout the conflict to arouse misgivings in Washington's mind regarding his confidential aide. But the General refused to believe the mutterings against one who shared his troubles and difficulties. In fact, the Commander-in-Chief, in recommending Tilghman for the permanent commission of Lieutenant Colonel, wrote that he was a " zealous servant, a faithful assistant and one of the most deserving men in the army." [54] During the war years an intimacy and fatherly affection had developed in Washington for Tilghman.[55] The Commander-in-Chief was not influenced by the slanderous remarks made against his aide. On one occasion Joseph Reed wrote Washington that he was alarmed over a letter of Tilghman's censuring Congress for their prosecution of the war.[56] In defending himself Colonel Tilghman claimed high Pennsylvaia officials had unjustly criticized his character, integrity and

[54] Washington to John Sullivan, May 11, 1781, Sparks, *op. cit.*, VIII, 38. On Friday, May 25, 1780, it was resolved by Congress that Tench Tilghman receive the commission of Lt. Colonel to take rank from April 1, 1777. W. C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-1935), XIX, 244.

[55] " There is a Gentleman there [in Maryland] . . . who I *know* to be as worth a man in *every* point of view as any that lives." George Washington to Augustine Washington, June 30, 1784, M. D. Conway, ed., *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society* (Brooklyn, 1867-1889), lxvi, lxxi.

[56] Joseph Reed to Washington, July 15, 1780, J. Sparks, ed., *Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1853), III, 23-24.

fidelity. He contended that no man had devoted more time nor sacrificed more than he had in the war.[57] The Marylander's spotless military record, his intense loyalty and devotion and the high esteem with which he was held by Washington silenced most of the agitation.

By 1781, the financial condition of the country had reached a low ebb. The army was unpaid and Congress bankrupt. In this period of crisis Robert Morris was appointed Superintendent of Finance. Congratulating him, Tilghman wrote that he had "scarcely known any public event to give so much satisfaction." The Colonel was confident that with a foreign loan and under his friend's good management conditions would improve.[58] Shortly after Congress had turned to Morris for guidance, the Bank of North America was chartered. The Superintendent asked Washington's aide to solicit subscriptions for the Bank among army personnel. Tilghman proved to be an unprofitable agent. An unpaid army had little money to assist with this business. Nevertheless, he did obtain promises from the troops to support Morris's proposals.[59] This was not the first time there had been mutual assistance and understanding between the two men. Throughout the war they had kept up a brisk correspondence. Besides personal letters there were long detailed discussions on activities at headquarters and in Congress, problems facing the army and the state of affairs of the colonies.[60] A friendship, having begun during the days before the Revolution, ripened and matured during these troublesome times.

[57] Tench Tilghman to Morris, December 22, 1780, *Collections of New York Historical Society*, XI, 454-458; W. G. Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (New York, 1891), I, 113, maintains that "every man during the Revolutionary Period who exerted himself zealously and with self-forgetfulness for the cause, suffered for it."

[58] Tench Tilghman to Morris, May 17, 1781, *Collections of New York Historical Society,* XI, 458-459. In this letter Tilghman said, ". . . the task you have undertaken is arduous but I trust you will be supported by every friend of this country in whatever you may think fit to recommend . . . a little of the true circulating medium Gold or paper struck upon a solid foundation is only wanting and that I think you will be able to create."

[59] Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, June 24, 1781, *ibid.*, XI, 463-464.

[60] Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, January 17 and March 2, 1777, Robert Morris to Tench Tilghman, October 10, 1782, Morris MSS. In a letter that showed Morris's esteem for Tilghman the former said, "I am entirely pleased to find that my sentiments on what was necessary to be done so entirely coincide with yours . . . For my own part I am not much concerned about the opinions of such men while I have in my favor the voice and the good added to the fair testimony of an approving friend."

With Cornwallis in an exposed position at Yorktown in 1781, the opportunity for a master stroke was perceived. Believing this was the moment for which they had long waited, Washington and Tilghman made one of their numerous trips to Newport to confer with Rochambeau.[61] Here the details of the Yorktown campaign were formulated. The plans worked to perfection. The allied armies marched through New Jersey to the head of the Big Elk River, where they embarked for Yorktown. At the same time the French fleet appeared in the Chesapeake Bay. During this period and in the days that followed, Washington received many dispatches from De Grasse. Because of their confidential nature, Tench Tilghman had been one of the two men designated by Lafayette to translate them. It was an honor to be thus selected.[62] But then, too, it was another task for the already overburdened aide to perform. His duties, however, were not to keep him much longer for the war was rapidly drawing to a conclusion. On September 28th the Allies moved forward without interruption. Two days later these forces occupied the outer enemy defenses about Yorktown.[63] On October 19, 1781, the British army under Cornwallis capitulated to the combined French and American forces.

At Yorktown the highest honor was given to Tench Tilghman. He was selected by Washington to carry the news of the surrender to Congress. The letter to Thomas McKean contained, besides an announcement of the victory, laudatory remarks about Tilghman and word that " he will be able to inform you of every minute circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my letter." [64] Leaving Yorktown by sail in the early morning of October 20th, Colonel Tilghman made the 245 mile trip to Philadelphia in approximately four days.[65] A number of factors accounted for

[61] Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, May 17, 1781, *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, XI, 458-459.

[62] Tower, *op. cit.*, II, 435.

[63] Diary of Tench Tilghman kept during the Yorktown campaign, *Memoir*, 103-107.

[64] Washington to the President of Congress, October 19, 1781, Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, VIII, 182-184. Washington wrote: " Colonel Tilghman, one of my aides-de-camp, will have the honor to deliver these dispatches to your Excellency . . . His merits which are too well known to need any observations at this time have gained my particular attention and I could wish that they may be honored by the notice of your Excellency in Congress."

[65] " B. Howell Griswold, Jr., " Tench Tilghman and His Journey," unpublished paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, April 28, 1932, generously loaned the author.

this delay. An entire night was lost by the "stupidity of the skipper on Tangier shoals," and a whole day crossing in the calm from Annapolis to Rock Hall. Once at Annapolis the aide found that a letter from Count De Grasse to Governor Lee had gone to Congress with information of the surrender. This made him more anxious than ever to reach Philadelphia, as he "knew both Congress and the public would be uneasy at not receiving dispatches from" the Commander-in-Chief.[66] Arriving in Rock Hall on the Eastern Shore of Maryland during the late afternoon of the 22nd, Tench Tilghman proceeded to Newton-on-the-Chester (Chestertown). Here a tremendous celebration commemorated the event.[67] Continuing, Tilghman reached the capital in the early morning of the 24th. Riding immediately to Thomas McKean's home on High Street, he knocked so violently that he was questioned as a disturber of the peace. Soon the news was known throughout the city. A watchman, in proclaiming the hour, added "and Cornwallis is taken." Congress assembled early to hear the letter Tilghman had brought from Washington. Somewhat later a committee, consisting of Randolph, Carroll and Boudinot, questioned Tilghman on the campaign details.[68] Although Congress had no money to meet the Colonel's expenses, each member personally contributed one dollar to reimburse him. In addition, that body directed the Board of War to present to Tilghman a horse properly caparisoned and a dress sword, as "testimony of their high opinion of his merit and ability."[69]

After recovering from a severe attack of "intermittent fever" suffered on the way to Philadelphia, Colonel Tilghman obtained

[66] Tilghman to Washington, October 27, 1781, Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, III, 434-435. "Early on Monday Morning an express arrived in town with the agreeable and very important intelligence of Lord Cornwallis and his army having surrendered on the 19th inst. We impatiently await the arrival of his Excellency General Washington's Dispatches . . ." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 24, 1781.

[67] *Maryland Journal*, November 13, 1781. ". . . This great event was no sooner announced to the public than a large number of worthy citizens assembled to celebrate this signal victory . . . , which was done with a decency and dignity becoming firm Patriots, Liberal Citizens, and present members of the community. Amidst the roaring of canon, and the exhibition of bon-fires, illuminations etc., the gentlemen (having repaired to a hall suitable for the purpose) drank" thirteen toasts.

[68] J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), 245; *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 25, 1781.

[69] E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-1936), VI, 248-249.

permission to visit his family in Maryland. Little secretarial work remained to be done at headquarters, and the aide thought it a convenient time to take a much deserved rest. He proposed to remain away until Washington sent word that he needed him.[70] While on this leave of absence time passed pleasantly. He even became negligent with his correspondence to the Genral, who wrote him in July, 1782: "Take your own time to accomplish it, or any other business you may have on hand—at the same time, I must be allowed to add, that you have no friend that wishes more to see you than I do."[71] At headquarters the Colonel's absence and infrequent letters led to considerable speculation as to his whereabouts. There were rumors that he had forgotten his friends, that he was dead, or that he was married. Although contradicting the first two suppositions, Tilghman said nothing of his marriage. In fact, at this time he belatedly began the courtship of his cousin, Anna Maria Tilghman, whom he had met in 1779. The wedding, once delayed on account of the death of her brother-in-law, Charles Carroll the barrister, finally took place on June 9, 1783.[72]

An event showing the esteem with which Tilghman was held in Congress occurred during the summer of 1783. Robert Livingston had resigned as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in June of that year. This necessitated the appointment of a successor. It was a most important decision to make, particularly as definitive peace treaty negotiations with England were still under way. In an effort to fill this vital position, the members of Congress brought forth the names of several candidates, who, in their opinion, would make excellent secretaries. Those nominees selected were General Schuyler, Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, Jonathan Turn-

[70] Tilghman to Washington, October 27, 1781, Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, III, 434. In this letter Tilghman commented: "I am too much attracted by duty and affection to remain a moment behind when I think my presence can render any service for assistance to your Excellency." Tilghman never returned to active duty. He resigned his commission on December 23, 1783, the same day as his chief, before Congress then sitting at Annapolis.

[71] Washington to Tench Tilghman, July 9, 1782, January 10, 1783, *Memoir*, 110-114.

[72] Hanson, *op. cit.*, 255; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II, 256; Tench Tilghman to Matthew Tilghman, June 10, 1782, *Memoir*, 122-125. Tilghman's wife was the younger daughter of the Honorable Matthew Tilghman. She was an intelligent, capable and gracious lady, endowed with a keen sense of judgment. Devout in matters of religion, Mrs. Tench Tilghman was passionately attached to the Episcopal Church. *Ibid.*, 46-47.

bull, Jr., George Clymer and Colonel Tench Tilghman. Immediate action on this appointment was deferred by Congress because of the withdrawal of Schuyler, Jefferson and Clymer.[73] Ultimately, however, John Jay, fresh from his experience abroad, was selected as secretary. Failure to secure this appointment was in no way a reflection upon Tilghman's ability. Even to be nominated for the secretaryship was high praise.

Meanwhile Tilghman had begun negotiations for a return to the mercantile business. Plans once underway rapidly materialized during the fall of 1783 despite the problems involved. With the import-export field too extensive for his limited capital, Tilghman realized the need for large credits and foreign connections. Instinctively he turned to Robert Morris, who at the same time was anxious for an associate in Maryland. By January 1, 1784, Tilghman had established a trading house in the thriving port of Baltimore with Morris as his partner. According to the articles of partnership the two men agreed to import foreign manufactures and export tobacco. Morever, the stipulations embraced the ownership of vessels, as well as the operation of a general exchange and banking business. The partners invested £2500 each with the profits to be equally divided. Tilghman received, in addition, £400 annually for his work in Baltimore.[74]

In an attempt to find markets for future trading speculations, Tilghman sent circular letters to leading European mercantile houses announcing his partnership with Morris and indicating the trading possibilities of his firm. In cordial and informative replies the foreign merchants told of the trading conditions in their countries and expressed the hope that the new Baltimore house would send them shipments of wheat and flour. From Gibraltar came word that flour was urgently needed.[75] The Bordeaux firm of French and Nephew emphasized the vast possibilities awaiting American trade in France. Bayonne and L'Orient had been made free ports and all duties had been lifted from brandies. There were numerous opportunities for trade in tobacco, grain, wine,

[73] Burnett, *op. cit.*, VII, 190-191; G. Hunt, ed., *Writings of James Madison* (New York, 1900), I, 475.

[74] *Memoir*, 51-52.

[75] Livingston and Turnbull to Tench Tilghman, August 1, 1784, Tilghman MSS, Maryland Historical Society. There are many letters in this collection from European trading firms. It is the only available source for the study of Tilghman's mercantile activities.

brandies and silks.[76] Cathalan of Marseilles wrote that the market in that city was particularly inviting for the best Philadelphia and New York wheat, Indian corn, barley, Carolina rice and kidney beans. Tobacco also was bringing an excellent price. In return for these imports the firm promised to ship to Tilghman and Company woolens, linens, wine and brandies, fruits, oils and soap. In Germany harvests were small, and the prices of all agricultural products were good. Bram and Collet assured Tilghman of excellent markets and prices for corn and beans, promising to pay for the products in specie or with exports of silks, glass and coal. Letters from Cadiz asked for American wheat. De Lanard and Company of Barcelona quoted prices on their imports from America, while Gregory Turnbull and Company of London offered Tilghman the service of their house in Spain. John Kennion wrote from Liverpool that he was overstocked with James River and Maryland tobacco, and the wheat market was not as profitable as it might be. James Burn of London was rather pessimistic in regard to any kind of profitable commerce because of Tilghman's high prices and the British restrictions.[77] Almost universally the replies from continental firms to the Baltimore merchant's circular letter indicated that the war-time European markets were still there. On the other hand the return of peace had brought an influx of American products into England, thus eliminating at the start any profitable intercourse with the Marylander. In 1784, therefore, with the exception of Great Britain, trading conditions throughout Europe were favorable for a thriving two-way commerce. There were demands on every side for the grains and tobacco of America, and Mr. Tilghman was prepared to supply them.[78]

[76] French and Nephew to Tench Tilghman, October 26, 1784, Tilghman MSS. "Nothing can be more detrimental to commerce in general than false notions and such is the case we find with several of our American friends and correspondents who are led away with the idea that many oppressive regulations exist in France . . . Seeing so few arrive . . . at our ports we shall most assuredly use every exertion for our friends."

[77] E. Cathalan to Tench Tilghman, January 25, 1785; Bram and Collet to Tilghman, August 23, 1784, "Should you want to dispatch us a cargo we think will render a good account, we can remit the amount to such places as you may direct"; Bullers and Matthew to Tilghman, August 10, 1784; James Duff to Tilghman, August 1, 1784; De Lanard to Tilghman, February 4, 1784; Gregory Turnbull to Tilghman, July 28, 1784; John Kennion to Tilghman, July 3, 1784; James Burn to Tilghman, July 9, 1784. Tilghman MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

[78] Through the efforts of Morris, Tilghman was one of those enterprising merchants who first entered into the China trade by assisting in the financing of the

After turning to the development of European markets, Tilghman found conditions in America unsuitable for foreign speculation. By the summer of 1785, American inflationary prices on wheat and rice had advanced to such a point that he refused to engage in many foreign trading ventures. To make matters worse, reports were received that harvests in Spain, France and Italy were again plentiful. This caused a rapid falling of prices. From England, Harris of London and Fox and Sons of Liverpool concurred with Tilghman's supposition that prices were too high for profitable speculation. Mediterranean trade also suffered from the depredations of the Barbary pirates. Writing to Valentin-Riers and Company of Barcelona in 1785, the Baltimore merchant contended that a cargo to the Mediterranean was out of the question at this time. In the early part of that year, one of his vessels had been captured by the pirates and her cargo sold to the complete loss of the firm. The only optimistic note for foreign trade in 1785 came from Germany. Here crops were in poor condition, and Maryland tobacco was in great demand.[79] Nevertheless, in spite of such conditions, Tench Tilghman shipped several cargoes of wheat and tobacco to Europe. At home he continued to do a considerable amount of coastal shipping to New York and Norfolk. Although temporarily prohibited from engaging in wide business undertaking, he was preparing himself for the future and gaining experience through these small beginnings.

The partnership with Robert Morris might have caused Tench Tilghman much embarrassment if he had lived to see the financial destruction of his partner. Even though the Baltimore firm kept independent accounts, he would most certainly have come under suspicion because of the association with his partner. Morris's operations as Superintendent of Finance and the conduct of his mercantile business at the same time involved him in scandals. It is, indeed, difficult to discover just where his private affairs ended and government activities began. Tilghman was drawn inadvertently into the scheme of this high finance when Morris,

Empress of China to Canton in 1784. Tench Tilghman and Company Profit and Loss Account, Tilghman MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

[79] Livingston and Turnbull to Tilghman, October 8, 1785; Charles and Company to Tilghman, June 1, 1785, August 3 and October 5, 1785; Fox and Sons to Tilghman, June 8, 1785; Valentine Riers and Company to Tilghman, May 21, 1785; ———— to Tilghman, November 7, 1785. All letters in Tilghman MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

in the spring of 1785, entered into a contract with the Farmers General. This agreement gave Morris a monopoly of the American tobacco trade with France. Although arousing the antagonism of the Virginia dealers, it was an excellent opportunity for Tench Tilghman and Company. Being a partner of Morris, with headquarters in the tobacco country, it would be only natural that the Baltimore merchant should assist in fulfilling the contract for 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco. In fact, in September, 1785, Tilghman was asked to prepare a cargo of tobacco samples for shipment to France for examination. Meanwhile, Morris was attempting to regulate the price of tobacco, thus controlling the export as well as the exchange. The method used in accomplishing these ends was one the Philadelphia merchant had found successful before. By holding his gold rate higher than his own notes, Morris hoped to put his notes at a premium over specie in the purchase of tobacco. Tilghman was a partner to this scheme, acting as Morris's agent in Baltimore. In January, 1786, Tilghman learned that complaints had been raised over the quality of tobacco he had shipped to France the preceding September. This, coupled with its scarcity and high price, proved detrimental to the successful operation of the tobacco enterprise. On several occasions in his correspondence with Tilghman during this period, Morris took pains to remind his partner that he was relying implicitly on his honor in carrying out such transactions.[80]

While actively engaged in establishing the foundations of his mercantile business, Tilghman continued his friendship and association with Washington. When the latter retired to Mount Vernon, the former aide became his agent for every kind of business transaction. Not only did Tilghman sell the products of Washington's farm, but he also purchased the articles for domestic and plantation use, including china for the table and clothing for the family. In addition, he contracted for carpenters and masons; he hired servants from the immigrant ships; he attempted to secure the services of a tutor and secretary and he even signed contracts for his former chief.[81] There was no business too trifling for

[80] Summer, *op. cit.*, II, 157-170. For an excellent account of the tobacco politics see F. L. Nussbaum, " American Tobacco and French Politics, 1783-1789," *Political Science Quarterly*, XL (1925), 497-516.

[81] There are many letters in the Washington MSS, Library of Congress, and Tilghman MSS in the Maryland Historical Society dealing with the business relations between these men after the war.

Tilghman to perform. On numerous occasions Washington cordially invited him to visit his home.[82] Although Tilghman hoped for an excuse to go to Alexandria, from which place he could easily proceed to Mount Vernon, business conditions required him to remain in Baltimore.[83]

Another meeting between the two men never materialized. In the fall of 1785, Tilghman was confined to his bed " by a most severe nervous fever which kept " him " there nearly four weeks." By the middle of October, although far from well, he was again conducting his business.[84] Early in 1786, he was again taken with a " severe attack of hepatic abscesses." However, he expressed the hope that he " would soon be able to enjoy the approaching season." [85] Little work could be accomplished at this time, because of the pains in his side. On April 15th Tilghman wrote Washington, " I am still unable to leave my chambers, though I think I am rather better than when I wrote you last." [86] His condition suddenly took a turn for the worse and on April 18, 1786, Tench Tilghman passed away without a struggle.[87]

His friends and comrades were outspoken in their " appreciation of his worth and their affectionate regard." Of all men George Washington had the highest praise for his former aide. In a letter

[82] Washington to Tilghman, May 23, 1785, Tilghman MSS. In this letter Washington said, " Will you ever come to see me? You may be assured there are few persons in the world, whose visits would give me more sincere pleasure at Mount Vernon, than yours. Nothing . . . could increase the satisfaction more than bringing Mrs. Tilghman with you."

[83] Tilghman to Washington, May 30 and August 31, 1785, Washington MSS, Library of Congress. In 1784, when Washington became General of the Society of Cincinnati, he sent a badge of the order to his former secretarial aide. Tilghman wrote of this honor to Washington, " Accept my warmest and most gracious thanks for this distinguishing mark of your attention and regard. I had before received many proofs of your esteem. But I must confess you have by this last instance of your goodness made the most flattering addition . . . with a full conviction of having deserved it or it would never have been presented by the illustrious hands of him whose modest virtue . . . honor and true glory it was the object of him to consummate." Tilghman to Washington, June 7, 1784, Washington MSS.

[84] Tilghman to Washington, October 13, 1785, Washington MSS.

[85] Tilghman to Washington, March 19, 1786, Washington MSS.

[86] Tilghman to Washington, April 15, 1786, Washington MSS.

[87] Thomas Ringgold Tilghman to Washington, April 22, 1786, Washington MSS. Tench Tilghman was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard, Baltimore. When it became necessary to break up the old churchyard at Charles and Lexington Streets his body was among those removed to the present cemetery at Redwood and Fremont Streets. His widow returned to Talbot County to make her home at " Plimhimmon," a property left her by her father near Oxford, where she is buried. A monument at her grave serves as a cenotaph to him, the inscriptions including Washington's estimate of him as quoted in this paper.

of consolation to Thomas Ringgold Tilghman, Washington said: " As there were few men for whom I had a warmer friendship or a greater regard than for your brother, Colonel Tilghman when living; so, with such truth I can assure you that there are none whose death I could more sincerely have regretted." [88] Washington again expressed his feelings in a letter to James Tilghman: ". . . none could have felt his death with more regret than I did, because no one entertained a higher opinion of his worth or had imbibed sentiments of greater friendship for him than I had done . . . that while living no man could be more esteemed, and since dead, none more lamented than Colonel Tilghman." [89]

With the premature death of Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman, there passed away " one of the pillars of the Revolution," [90] a Maryland patriot who had stood unswervingly for the colonial cause during one of the critical periods of American history.

[88] Washington to Thomas Ringgold Tilghman, May 10, 1786, Washington MSS.
[89] Washington to James Tilghman (the father), June 5, 1786, *Memoir*, 66-67.
[90] Washington to Thomas Jefferson, August 1, 1786, *ibid.*, 66.

VOYAGE OF VICENTE GONZALEZ IN 1588

By Louis Dow Scisco

The voyage of a Spanish explorer from Florida to Chesapeake Bay in 1588 is known chiefly from reminiscent allusions to it in letters of Juan Menendez Marques, a colonial officer in Florida who accompanied the explorer. The voyage report made by Vicente Gonzalez and sent to Spain has not yet been found. In the Lowery collection in the Library of Congress is a document which, by its title, purports to be the missing report, but examination proves it to be merely an official brief, narrating one particular portion of the venture[1].

The idea of the voyage originated with the Duke of Medina Sidonia in Spain. All through the winter of 1587-88 the Spanish government was preparing the great Armada to be sent against England. Toward the close of winter the official in charge of preparations became seriously ill. The king thereupon selected the Duke of Medina Sidonia to be his successor. It was an unwelcome honor and the duke did his best to evade it, but on the king's insistence he took the position, which carried with it broad powers over all oceanic matters.

One of the first things that came to the duke's notice in his new position was the report that an English settlement had been made on San Juan Island near Newfoundland. Such a settlement would have been an efficient naval base for interference with the Basque

[1] The voyage escaped the notice of Barcia, the Spanish chronicler of Florida matters, although he mentions Gonzalez once or twice in other incidents. The earliest mention comes from the Buckingham Smith MSS in New York in 1859, but the document then published (and herein quoted) told nothing of the actual voyage. Details of the voyage itself first came to light when Ruidiaz published his *La Florida* in 1893. The voyage is of small importance in Florida history, and writers in that field since 1893 have dismissed it with the briefest mention. For Maryland and Virginia history the two Spanish voyages will always be important items introductory to the English occupation. That of Gonzalez has also some share in the history of Raleigh's colony in North Carolina.

fishermen on whose industry Spain partly depended for its food supply. Perturbed by the report, the duke ordered an expedition sent out from Florida against the new settlement. What happened thereafter is told by a letter sent to Spain by the governor of Florida.

In the month of February last, I gave Your Highness account of the manner in which I had taken the people, artillery, and ammunitions from Santa Helena to San Agustin, and of the erection of the great fort. After the completion, I sent Captain Vicente Gonzalez and a nephew of mine in a vessel, very fast of sail and oar, to go running the coast as high as the thirty-ninth degree of latitude, which is above the Bay of Santa Maria. He took thirty skillful men with him, that, should the English have settled in that direction, he might make discovery of whatsoever existed. He set out at a good time, in the beginning of June. I so directed, because the Duke of Medina Sidonia had written to me to be in readiness for the 15th of May, to undertake the voyage in person, following the shore as far as the island of San Juan, that we might know at once what there is on the coast, and that I should go thence to Your Majesty and relate what I had seen, for which purpose a royal order would issue, directing what should be done. Accordingly I got ready, awaiting the order until the 7th of June, and then, seeing that it did not arrive, and that the season was going by, I resolved to send one of the vessels in waiting, the one in which Vicente Gonzales set sail, with instructions to go as far as the thirty-ninth degree on discovery. I suppose it should have got back, and on my arrival at San Agustin I will give account to Your Highness of what appears, with which I will dispatch a vessel, should it be a matter of moment.[2]

The governor's mention of the Bay of Santa Maria refers to the Chesapeake Bay, which the governor himself had discovered in 1573 and had bestowed upon it the name which he now uses. The parallel of 39° which he sets as his limit is at Delaware Bay, and far short of the island of San Juan, which was supposed to be at 43° latitude.

Moreover the governor seems not to have told the home government all the circumstances of the beginning of the voyage. There had come to his ears a report of intrusive Frenchmen somewhere on the modern South Carolina coast and he merged the intended exploring force with an additional force, sending them both to attack the French. Apparently the combined forces sought the French in vain and then separated, one party returning to San

[2] Letter of Pedro Menendez Marques, July 17, 1588, in *Historical Magazine*, 1st series, iii, 275-276 (Sept. 1859).

Agustin, while Gonzales went onward. Of this the opening words of the so-called Relation are the evidence.

> The captain Vicente Gonzalez says: That Pedro Menendez Marques, governor of the provinces of Florida, had news by way of the Indians of the coast of Santa Elena, that there was a fort of the French there, whither he ordered him to proceed with fifty soldiers and two lanchas, with all caution that could be, so that he might not fall into the hands of the enemy, and thus he did, coasting along the coast toward the Bacallaos.

Presumably the expedition sailed directly to Santa Elena, but there is no record of this. Nor is there any record of the separation of the forces, reducing the exploring party to thirty men as told in the governor's letter. The next actual glimpse of them is at Winyah Bay, sometimes called Georgetown Inlet, in South Carolina. This is told in one of Juan Marques's statements, where he is speaking of the harbors suitable for Spanish shipping.

> . . . and in which latitude there can no doubt be found an excellent port, particularly at Cayagua, where any armed ships could with safety enter, in an altitude of thirty-three and one-fourth degrees, and where I have myself been in the past year of 1588.[3]

It probably was at Winyah Bay that Gonzalez had his talks with the Indian chief which are narrated at length in the so-called Relation. Gonzalez tried to learn where the chief obtained the ear pendants of beaten gold that he wore. The chief said they came from other Indian tribes living in the mountains of the hinterland, where gold was such a common thing that the people did not greatly value it. These mountains were distant a three-days journey. Gonzalez thought that New Mexico must be just beyond the mountains.

The explorers also learned here that somewhere to the northward there was a settlement of English much closer than at San Juan Island. Gonzalez had been inquiring of the Indians about a ship passage to the Pacific Ocean, the rumored existence of which had bothered Spanish minds for many years past. The Indians obligingly assured him that there was such a passage and the English had taken possession.

> The English position, according to what the Indians have said, is established toward the north from this settlement, in a river where, the

[3] Letter of Juan Menendez Marques, Jan. 5, 1608, in A. M. Brooks and Annie Averette, *Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine* (St. Augustine, 1909) p. 79.

said captain Vicente Gonzalez holds it as certain, it extends to the South Sea, because in discussing with the Indians if there were any stream that passed to the other sea, they answered that beyond where they were was one which extended to the other sea; and so he holds it as undoubted that the Englishmen are there.

Stimulated by the news that the English were located somewhere beyond, the Spaniards sailed northward to find the ship passage and the alien intruders. Juan Marques writes, "Having by the year '88 gone on the discovery of the Bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan, and to obtain information of the settlement of the English, jointly with the captain Vicente Gonzalez," [4] but he tells nothing of what occurred there, nor does any other source. Definite knowledge is limited to the facts that the Spaniards made observation and then moved onward to Chesapeake Bay.

At this time there was on Roanoke Island a colony of about thirty English settlers brought there in 1587 by Raleigh's direction. After the ships sailed away in August of 1587 the fate of the settlement is a matter of speculation, for it left no record. Modern writers call it the lost colony. When English ships again reached the place in 1590 the colony had disappeared.

The report made by Gonzalez reached Spain in 1589. It is obvious that Gonzalez had found Raleigh's colony flourishing, for the news of its existence brought characteristic reaction from the Spanish government. It was arranged that the governor of Florida should assemble a squadron of frigates and galleys suitable for the small depth of water at the entrance to the English post. On these he was to take a force of seasoned soldiers from San Agustin. Proceeding then to the English harbor he was to extirpate the settlement and in its place to erect a fort for 300 men, of whom Juan Menendez Marques was to be the commander. For some reason this elaborate project was soon abandoned.

With the English ships that came in 1590 to Roanoke Island was John White, governor of the colony. He carefully examined the evidences of flight that he found, and one incidental comment reveals that the colonists must have departed soon after Gonzalez came. White says that the fleeing colonists buried his chest in which he had left his armor. After they left, the Indians dug up

[4] Letter of Juan Menendez Marques, June 7, 1606, in Ruidiaz, *La Florida* (Madrid, 1893), ii, 498.

the chest and scattered the armor, and when he found it in 1590 it "was nearly eaten through with rust." [5] Possibly Gonzalez attacked or threatened the English, scaring them into their flight.

Leaving the North Carolina coast behind him, Gonzalez moved onward to Chesapeake Bay. All the knowledge of this visit that is preserved comes from the letter of Juan Marquez. He is not concerned, however, with telling of the voyage as such. He is interested solely in giving news of an excellent place which may on occasion serve Spanish shipping. To do so he recalls what he remembers of the region which Gonzalez explored.

> And in addition to the abovesaid, from the said bay of Santa Elena as far as the bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan, which is, at its entrance, in the height of 37 degrees, I offer to reveal harbors, should it be necessary, capacious for entering and allowing anchorage and repairing of vessels in them, even though they be of 50 tons burden; in particular in the said harbor and bay of Madre de Dios, which at its entrance is northwest-southeast, without any sort of reef or sandbank in all its mouth, nor outside of it; the passage from the sea as viewed having a depth of seven to eight fathoms and upwards, and of a width in its mouth of more than two leagues in my opinion; and entering within, it makes such a gulf that almost one loses the land from sight from one side to the other, and having entered a matter of three leagues in the direction of northwest, one arrives at the coast of the mainland, and there is another large harbor which in the mouth of it has three fathoms of depth and upwards; and thereafter, coasting the bay alongside of the mainland, in the direction of the north, there are admirable ports and important freshwater streams and well-seeded valleys and, to appearances, a fertile country, in particular from the height of 38 degrees, and upward to the height of 40 degrees.[6]

In describing the Bay thus, the writer seems to be mentally recalling the progress of the exploring party of which he was a member. Evidently he thinks that the Chesapeake is joined with the Carolina sounds, for he uses the name Madre de Dios both for the waters where the English colony lay and for the Chesapeake as well. He tells of the ship's entrance into the Bay with sounding line testing the depths as it goes. He recalls the movement northwest across the wide waters to Mobjack Bay. He indicates that the explorers then sailed northward along the Virginia shore to latitude 38° where lay the mouth of the Potomac. Be-

[5] *Sir Walter Raleigh and His Colony in America* (Publications of the Prince Society) (Boston, 1884) p. 291.

[6] Letter of Juan Menendez Marques, June 7, 1606, Ruidaz, *op. cit.*, II, 502.

yond that part, following the Maryland western shore, they watched the land carefully, much impressed by the broad river mouths, *maravillosos puertos y rios dulces caudales*, and by the stretches of luxuriant vegetation, so different from the sandy shores of the Florida peninsula. One may suppose, however, that for some reason they turned back before they quite reached the head of the Bay, for had they gone on to the head they would have known that it was not as far north as 40° of latitude. Or perhaps this error was due merely to the faulty memory of Marques, who recalled well what he had seen of Maryland shores but did not quite remember correctly about the latitude.

It would be fitting, of course, to tell also about the voyage homeward by Gonzalez and his men, but the documents leave that part nearly a blank. Marques mentions only that they stopped at the San Pedro mission on the Georgia coast and saw the converted Indians engaged in religious ceremonies.

GERMAN SETTLERS IN EARLY COLONIAL MARYLAND

By Dieter Cunz

Much has been written about the two most outstanding figures among the earliest Maryland immigrants from Central Europe: Augustin Herrman and John Lederer.[1] Through Augustin Herrman the first group of German immigrants was attracted to the Calvert Colony: the Labadists, a sect of nonconformists coming from Northwestern Germany and Holland. In 1683 they settled at the northern end of the Chesapeake Bay but after two generations disappeared from the stage of history.[2] Aside from these first harbingers of the German immigrant wave into Maryland, there is very little known about early German settlers around the Chesapeake Bay. This is the first attempt to collect minutely all the details on German people in Maryland before the beginning of the first mass immigration of 1730.

It is highly improbable that there were Germans on the first ships sent out for the colonization of the Calvert property, the *Ark* and the *Dove*. Heinrich Zschokke, a German-Swiss writer of the first half of the nineteenth century, declared in an historical novel, *Die Gründung von Maryland*, that in 1634 Lord Baltimore allowed a few German settlers to come from Virginia, but this is an invention of the romantic poet.[3] In the first settling of the colony the Germans played only a very minor role. The colony of Maryland was the private property of a Catholic lord,

[1] For a bibliography on the investigations on John Lederer see: Dieter Cunz, "John Lederer, Significance and Evaluation," *William and Mary Historical Quarterly*, Second Series, XXII (1942), 184 f. For Augustin Herrman cf. the most recent monograph by Earl L. W. Heck, *Augustine Herrman* (Englewood, Ohio, 1941). The complicated question of Augustin Herrman's racial origin was treated in a special article, Dieter Cunz, "Augustin Herrman, Origin and Early Events," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXIV (1942), 5 ff.

[2] B. B. James, *The Labadist Colony in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899).

[3] Cf. Erich Albrecht, "Heinrich Zschokke's Version of the Founding of Maryland," *American German Review*, VIII, vi (1942), 15 ff.

whereas the majority of German immigrants consisted of suppressed Protestants. They knew nothing of the sympathetic tolerance of the Calverts' religious laws; or, if they knew of them, they mistrusted them after their unhappy experiences under the ruling Catholic princes of Germany. Thus, at the turn of the seventeenth century, the Germans preferred other colonies—New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia. As private property rather than a crown colony, Maryland profited little from the organized mass shipments of German settlers arranged by the English government at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In spite of all this, a few isolated German settlers were to be found in Maryland toward the end of the seventeenth century.

The best known of them all is George Hack.[4] He was born in Cologne, Germany, in 1623. He studied medicine at Cologne University, received his doctor's degree, and then emigrated to New Amsterdam. Here he gave up his practice in favor of commercial activities. Together with Augustin Herrman he opened a tobacco house, which soon began to flourish. By 1651 the firm of Hack and Herrman was one of the largest and most successful tobacco houses in America. In the tobacco markets of Maryland and Virginia it came into ever sharper competition with the Dutch West India Company. The Navigation Act of 1651, which excluded all non-English ships from trade with the colonies, put an abrupt end to the business, forced Herrman for a time into debtor's prison, and caused Hack to leave New Amsterdam. He settled in Northampton County, Virginia, and turned to his original profession of medicine. In the beginning of the sixties he must have moved to Baltimore County, Maryland, where we find his name in 1663 in the Acts of the General Assembly.[5] He died, probably in 1665, before he achieved naturalization. Two sons were born to him, George Nicholas, who became the father of the Virginia branch of the family; and Peter, who founded the Maryland line of Hacks.[6] As early as 1647 a John Hack is named in connection with a court and testamentary business.[7] A certain Sepherin Hack

[4] *Dict. of American Biogr.*, VIII, 70. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, V, 256. *William and Mary Historical Magazine*, VIII, 237.

[5] In the *Maryland Archives* his name often occurs. In 1662, for example, we read of a "Lycense to Dr. George Hack to transporte 20 barrels of Corne out of this Province." (*Archives*, III, 459).

[6] O. A. Keach, "The Hack Family," *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*, VII, 235 ff.

[7] *Archives*, IV, 332.

was killed by Indians in Maryland in 1661.[8] We do not know whether John and Sepherin were members of George Hack's family, but it is possible. In later times the name often appears as Heck. The original form lives on today in Hack's Neck, Virginia, and in Hack's Point, Cecil County, Maryland.

It is endlessly difficult to establish the nationality of settlers in these early times. The names help very little and are even often misleading. We read often of a Christian Geist of Annapolis; from his name he might well be considered German, but we learn from his naturalization papers that he " was born under the King of Sweden." [9] Settlers with English sounding names such as Greening or Rayman, on the other hand, turn out to be German. Edward Beckler could have been a German by his name; if so, he was the first German in Maryland, for his name appears in a document of 1637.[10] We certainly will not err in considering as German James and William Leisler, who appeared as witnesses in a court process in 1664, although we do not know whether they were relatives of the famous Jakob Leisler of New Amsterdam.[11] By the orthography of his name a certain Peter Meyer may have been German; but we may dismiss him briefly, for we know of him only that in 1663 Governor Philip Calvert gave him a " Passe to depart this Province." [12] A certain Hans Dering, who is mentioned in a document of 1663, was certainly German; and in the case of John Sicks (1663) the note " Subject of the Royall Empire of Jermany " leaves no doubt about his origin.[13] John Stump, a Prussian, came to America about 1700 and bought a piece of land in Cecil County near present-day Perryville, Maryland.[14] That a certain Michael(a) Hacker, who is mentioned in connection with the case of a runaway slave and is identified simply as " spinster," was a German is a possibility, but it cannot be proved.[15] We read (1683) of a Simon Stein, " a servant," [16]

[8] *Ibid.*, III, 414, 432.

[9] *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 146, 265; XXXVIII, 288. It would naturally still be possible for Christian Geist to have come originally from Germany. After the peace of Westfalia (1648) great parts of northern Germany (Vorpommern, Bremen, Verden, Wismar) were under the rule of the Swedish king.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 22.

[11] *Ibid.*, IL, 269.

[12] *Ibid.*, IL, 18.

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 471; III, 489.

[14] *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), 518, 547. Stump was a cousin of the Prussian Baron Friedrich von Trenck, who played a part in the family history of Frederick the Great. The name seems originally to have béen Stumpf.

[15] *Archives*, IV, 165.

[16] *Ibid.*, VII, 456.

and (1718) of a Philip Eilbeck of Kent County—both indubitably German names. Philip Eilbeck was in a pitiable situation. We find his petition "That he has Been a Prisoner for Debt in Kent County almost Two years and haveing nothing whereby he Can discharge His body from Prison nor any likelyhood of Being Discharged—prays that an Act may Pass in his favor." [17] In spite of the unhappy state of the "Languishing Prisoner," the General Assembly moved with no particular speed. His name occurs again and again in the Acts, and we never learn what was finally done for the unfortunate man.[18] The servant Stein and the prisoner Eilbeck were undoubtedly not unusual cases among the few Germans in the colony at this time. Certainly there were many Germans among the poor people, but it is just their names that appear only by exception in historical documents. In the upper classes German names are as good as nonexistent. Only once we read of a William Blankenstein, who with a few other prominent fellow citizens sent a letter of congratulations to the new King William III in London in 1689.[19]

Naturalization documents are the only sure sources, for there we do not have to depend upon the German sound of the names. Before 1730 we have around a dozen naturalizations where it is expressly stated that the new citizen was "a Native of Germany," "born in Germany," or born "under the Dominions of the Emperor of Germany." After the naturalizations of Augustin Herrman, George Hack, and John Lederer followed in the next few decades those of Lawrence Christian and Martin Mugenbrough (1674), "borne in Germany"; [20] Albert Greening and John Oeth (1721), "born under the Dominion of the Emperor of Germany and their Children now Residents in Ann arundel County"; [21] Joseph Lazear of Prince George's County with his children Joseph, Thomas, John, Elisabeth, Mary, and Deborah (also 1721); [22] a surgeon, Francis Rudolph Bodien of Kent County (1727); [23] John Woolf, an Annapolis cobbler with wife and

[17] *Ibid.*, XXX, 131.
[18] *Ibid.*, XXX, 157, 158, 196, 211, 230, 234, 283.
[19] *Ibid.*, VIII, 147. Blankenstein's naturalization is mentioned in the *Archives*, VII, 343, 345, 362, 400, 405, 406, 420, 444.
[20] *Ibid.*, II, 400.
[21] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 297; XXXIV, 280, 287, 291, 303, 312, 316, 329, 330.
[22] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 288; XXXIV, 146, 147, 156, 160, 189, 207, 227, 265.
[23] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 403, XXXVI, 14, 15, 17, 55, 63, 64, 65, 66.

child;[24] John Samuel Mynskie with wife and daughter "born in the Province of Brandenburgh in the Kingdom of Prussia" and now a blacksmith in Annapolis;[25] the already mentioned William Rayman of Annapolis, "borne in Germany under the Dominion of the Prince Palatine of Rhyne" (1728);[26] and finally Christian Peters from Cecil County, "a Native of Germany" (1729).[27]

When the two first Labadists, Danckaerts and Sluyter, came through Maryland on their initial trip in 1679, they met, probably in Kent County, on a farm "a person who spoke high Dutch"—by which we may understand German. The two travelers speak of him again a little later on. "We also found here the person who spoke high Dutch, and of whom we have before said a word. We were able to converse with him, but my companion could do so best. He resided on this plantation, and was a kind of proctor or advocate in the courts."[28] Danckaerts is the author of the diary; by "my companion" is meant Sluyter, who came from Wesel in the Rhineland and was therefore able to talk the better with the man "who spoke high Dutch." We learn, however, nothing about this German, neither his name nor from what part of Germany he originated.

In the older literature about Maryland and Delaware we read here and there of a German, or, more exactly, of an "Austrian," who settled on the Eastern Shore about 1680, one Cornelius Commegys.[29] Commegys possessed vast holdings in Maryland as well as in Delaware, and played a not unimportant role in the history of the seventeenth century. "Commegys from Vienna," as he was always called, was however, not a German. He was a Dutchman who came from the little town of Vianen in South-Holland. The similarity between the words Vianen and Vienna no doubt caused the confusion of the local historians. The Commegys family are

[24] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 406; XXXVI, 24, 25, 38, 55, 63, 69, 75.
[25] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 407; XXXVI, 24, 25, 38, 55, 63, 69, 75.
[26] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 422; XXXVI, 130, 131, 140, 212, 223, 224, 225, 233, 234, 263. The German spelling of the name was probably Reimann.
[27] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 424; XXXVI, 314, 316, 322, 387, 396, 398, 401, 404, 446.
[28] *Danckaerts' Journal*, edited by B. B. James and J. F. Jameson (New York, 1913), 118, 122.
[29] Francis Vincent, *History of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1870), 465. Vincent says (p. 464) that, when the English took over Delaware, many Dutch and German families moved to Maryland. "They were, no doubt, brought there by the influence of Augustin Herrman." That is quite possible. Unfortunately Vincent gives us no proof.

discussed in detail in Danckaerts' diary, and designated there as natives of Holland.[30]

We may make particular mention of two outstanding Germans who lived in Maryland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, even if for only a few years: Justus Engelhardt Kühn and John Peter Zenger. The name of Justus Engelhardt Kühn occurs in the Maryland Acts for the first time in the year 1708.[31] We know nothing of Kühn's youth, of what part of Germany was his home, nor of when he came to America. Indeed we know little of his life, and the little that we do know is restricted to the last nine years.[32] His naturalization papers make it clear that he was a German and a Protestant. Apparently he came to Annapolis in 1707 or 1708. Shortly after he settled there he married, and in 1714 the Acts record the birth of "Thomas, Son of Jost. Engl. Kiihn and Elisabeth his wife." In April, 1717, he became Churchwarden of St. Anne's in Annapolis. Not much later he abjured the Stuarts and declared his loyalty to the new English royal house of Hannover. He must have died a few months later. The administrator of his estate was none less than Charles Carroll, "The Settler" (1660-1720). Happily some of Kühn's pictures have been preserved. They not only give evidence of his artistic ability, but show that he was the favorite of the highest social stratum of the province. All the paintings that we possess from his hand are portraits of members of the Digges, Darnall, and Carroll families, the best names of the time in Maryland.[33]

John Peter Zenger was born in Germany in 1697 and came to New York as a boy of thirteen. He was one of a group of emi-

[30] *Danckaerts' Journal*, 121. "Commegys was from Vianen, and had had a Dutch woman for a wife, who taught her children to speak the Dutch language; they therefore had a kind disposition towards Hollanders."

[31] For all that we know of J. E. Kühn we are indebted to the excellent study of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, "Justus Engelhardt Kühn, an Early Eighteenth Century Portrait Painter," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XLVI (1936), Pt. II, 243-280. It is the only essay that we have on him. The name Kühn is often garbled in the Acts, appearing as Kiihn, Kyhn, Kitchin, Ketclin; but the two first names Justus Engelhardt identify him wherever he is mentioned.

[32] *Archives*, XXXVII, 235, 261, 283, 288, 289, 292, 321, 327, 369, 370.

[33] We have ten of Kühn's pictures, three portraits of children and seven portraits of adults. Dr. Pleasants has pointed out that Kühn was the first painter in America who introduced a negro slave into a portrait (Portrait of Henry Darnall III). All pictures are reproduced in the essay by Dr. Pleasants, who also gives exact information concerning the history of the pictures and the genealogy of the subjects. Three of Kühn's portraits hang in the Main Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society.

grants from the Palatinate backed by Queen Anne.[34] Since the father had died enroute and the mother was destitute, the children had to pay off the costs of their voyage by several years of service. Subsequently John Peter Zenger settled in Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland. In October of 1720 the Assembly granted naturalization to J. P. Zenger " being an alien Borne in the upper Palatinate on the Rhine." [35] His name appears frequently in the Archives of the years 1720-21, for early in 1720 he had applied as a trained printer for the job of printing the laws of the province of Maryland. In April, 1720, we read:

> Petitioner has the Liberty of printing the Bodys of Laws of each Sessions for the sev.ll Countys as also one for the Prov.ll Court One for the Upper House and one for the Lower House of Assembly And that he Bind the same with Leather And be Allowed for Each Body Seven hundred pounds of Tob.c. . . .[36]

Unfortunately none of these printed volumes of laws is extant. We may be sure, however, that Zenger continued to print the Maryland laws for some time, for in August, 1721, the General Assembly decreed that John Peter Zenger should print the laws of this session also " as usual." [37] In spite of this auspicious start in Maryland, Zenger returned to New York in 1722. As is well known, his real activities began there. As editor of the *New York Weekly Journal* he became famous as one of the first American protagonists of freedom of the press.[38] That, however, does not belong to the history of Maryland.

Without question others of the group from the Palatinate settled in the colony of Maryland, but we have no definite information about them. Only once in the *Archives of Maryland* is express reference made to this group. On October 27, 1710, the House of Delegates passed the following decree: " This House being

[34] *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 648. I. D. Rupp, *A Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants* (1876), 444.

[35] *Archives*, XXXVIII, 277; XXXIV, 19, 20, 21, 31, 56, 79, 81, 83, 93, 110, 112.

[36] *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 501, 557, 588, 639.

[37] *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 255. Cf. Lawrence C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922), 50 ff. Charles A. Barker, in his book *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940) (p. 167), has pointed out this act as an early omen of the revolution. In contrast to the custom of the esoteric Parliament in the English motherland, the doings of the Assembly were here for the first time published and so exposed to general criticism.

[38] *Cf.* Livingstone Rutherfurd, *John Peter Zenger, His Press, His Trial and a Bibliography of Zenger Imprints* (New York, 1904).

informed several Palatines were come to Settle in this Province and being willing & desirous to Encourage those poor People in their Industry have resolved that those Palatines with their Servants Shall be free this present year from paying any publick or County charge of Levy and to which they pray the Concurrence of the Honble Council." [39] The Council agreed without hesitation, " being likewise desirous to Encourage the said Palatines and make them as easy as possible." Where these Palatines settled and how many there were is not stated. Both pronouncements of the Acts make it clear, however, that the Assembly was glad to see the Palatinate immigrants come and eager to give them a good start in the new land.

[39] *Archives*, XXVII, 496. The term " Palatine " became so much a part of the language of the time that it was later frequently applied to all German Protestant immigrants, no matter from what part of Germany they came. Many of the so-called " Palatines " originated in Silesia or Holstein.

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE: SOME RECOLLECTIONS

By Walter H. Buck

The recent death of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, the last of the Maryland branch of that famous family,[1] seems an appropriate time to record something of the personality of his uncle, Charles Joseph Bonaparte (1851-1921), the most important member of the Maryland family.

The history of this family is well known and need not be repeated here.[2] Portraits, busts, furniture, china, and other effects of the family are owned by the Maryland Historical Society and form an impressive exhibit.

Nor need we do more than refer to the fact that in our national life, Mr. Bonaparte was one of that fine group including Carl Schurz, Dorman B. Eaton, George William Curtis, and Everett P. Wheeler who began the hard and valiant fight against the "Spoils System" at a time when the opposition was intrenched and powerful. Then, too, in his local work with the Baltimore Reform League, in which he and Severn Teackle Wallis and John C. Rose were the leaders, and especially in the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, he was a diligent and persistent worker. His efforts were at last crowned with success, so that now we have fairer elections and better conditions in the public service. It is more, however, in the hope that something may be recorded of Mr. Bonaparte's unique personality that this sketch has been attempted.

It was my good fortune, a short time after coming to the bar, to engage in the trial of several hard fought cases against Mr. Bonaparte.

I was perhaps overzealous in the presentation of my clients'

[1] Mr. J. N. Bonaparte died in 1945.

[2] There is an excellent biography of Mr. Bonaparte entitled *Charles Joseph Bonaparte, His Life and Public Services*, by Joseph Bucklin Bishop (Scribner, 1922).

side, and when the cases were over, I had a feeling that I had gone too far, especially against an opponent of Mr. Bonaparte's character and position. Sometime after that I was called on the telephone by a lawyer in Mr. Bonaparte's office, who asked if I would call to see Mr. Bonaparte, which of course I did. Mr. Bonaparte owned the property 216 St. Paul Street located on the west side of the street between Lexington and Saratoga Streets, abutting on an alley. The building was pulled down some years ago and its former site is now used as a parking lot! The building was a somewhat narrow one of three stories. On the ground floor was the law and real estate office of Harris & Thompson (W. Hall Harris & H. Oliver Thompson). To the right of that office was a steep stairway which led to the second floor where Mr. Bonaparte's business offices were located. At the head of this stairway sat a lady of uncertain age whose business it was to inspect strangers who entered and to inquire about them and their business. Mr. Cleveland P. Manning was in charge of these business offices which were located near the entrance to this stairway, and nearby, at a small desk, sat a lawyer whose business, in part, was the collection of small items. He recently died leaving over one million dollars. The front office on this floor was occupied by Mr. William Reynolds, a lawyer of the old school, who was constantly smoking a pipe. Mr. Reynolds was the author of an excellent book on evidence, entitled *Reynolds on Trial Evidence*, modeled on the work of Sir James FitzJames Stephen's *A Digest of the Law of Evidence.* Having successfully passed the scrutinizing lady on the second floor, I continued up to the third and there met another lady with a similar occupation, but much more determined and persistent than the first. At last having satisfied her, I went through a room filled with law books into Mr. Bonaparte's private office on the third floor front.

Mr. Bonaparte was seated on a sort of platform on the south side of the room and the wall directly behind him was panelled in walnut. There he sat with that quizzical smile, moving his head from side to side in his own peculiar way. He explained to me in a pleasant voice, which occasionally had a piping quality, that he would not permit a telephone to be placed on his office floor and so had another person telephone me. And then to my relief, instead of chiding me about what happened in court, he asked me

to become a member of the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland. This occurred in 1908 and from that time until his death it was my great privilege to work and correspond with this cheerful, brilliant and unusual man whose principal interest in life was the waging of unceasing war on the evils which cropped out in our political life.

Here it may be well to state that Mr. Bonaparte was a thoroughgoing American and a great believer in our constitutional system. Though bearing a name famous in Europe, he never once crossed the ocean.

Before going to Harvard, where he was an honor student both in the College of Arts and Sciences and in the Law school, he attended school for a while at George F. Morrison's at No. 803 Cathedral Street. That building is still standing and my mother was a pupil there at the same time. This reference to Harvard reminds me of a letter which Mr. Bonaparte wrote me in 1919, it being particularly interesting because it brings in two members of the famous Adams family. I had tried, unsuccessfully, to get Mr. Bonaparte to read the *Education of Henry Adams.* His letter, in part, is as follows:

> I have not read the *Education of Henry Adams,* although I have read a number of the reviews of it and have seen a great many extracts. I was personally acquainted with his brother Charles Francis Adams, whose *Autobiography* I have read. The family had very marked peculiarities, and especially an abnormal disposition to depreciate everybody, including themselves, and to display themselves to the public in a less favorable light than would have been fair to them or in accordance with truth. In the case of Charles Francis Adams, this was notably shown by his observation that his class at Harvard was only remarkable for containing two persons who were sent to the Penitentiary. As a matter of fact, I heard from one of his classmates that he was very much interested in the class and quite generous in contributions for reunions and amusements intended to keep alive class-feeling. Henry Adams was an even more peculiar man than Charles Francis, and, from what I know of the family, I would take everything that he said subject to rather serious discount, especially when it related to himself, his relatives or his intimate friends. The Adams attitude of mind towards the world seems to have been one of smothered indignation that they were not better appreciated by the public, leading them to " run down " their own merits and those of everybody else with whom they were brought into contact. For all these reasons I have not felt any great desire to read the *Education of Henry.*

Mr. Bonaparte was by profession a lawyer, yet able as he was,

he was not a great lawyer; perhaps because he was unwilling to go through the drudgery which is a necessary part of a lawyer's training. However, his natural talents came out as a cross examiner, and I was told by the late William Shepard Bryan, one of the ablest trial lawyers of that time, that Mr. Bonaparte, in his opinion, was the greatest natural cross examiner he had ever seen. Mr. Bonaparte never attempted to browbeat an opposing witness but drawing his chair close to the witness and looking at him with that quizzical smile, he would finally, if it were possible to do so, draw from him testimony helpful to Mr. Bonaparte's case. The opinion of E. S. Gauss, Mr. Bonaparte's private secretary when he was in the cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt, is worth repeating as follows:

> If he had been raised in the common way of life, he would have made a more prominent conventional figure, possibly would have been ranked with those we call our great men, but he achieved to be a unique character.[3]

While Attorney General of the United States during the famous "Trust Busting" campaign of President Theodore Roosevelt, he brought a number of anti-trust suits against different corporations at the same time. Asked by a reporter why he had done this, he replied that he thought it best to shoot into the covey in the hope of bringing down at least one bird; a remark which showed that he had never been in the field to shoot or shoot at partridges.

Aristocratic as he was and in a sense aloof, he was nevertheless completely at home on the speaker's platform and many a fine speech he made at the Music Hall (now the Lyric) and elsewhere in the hard fought campaigns of the nineties. His tall figure, the peculiar way in which he used his arms and his restless manner on the platform set him off from the more familiar platform type.

Though it was said that he had but few intimate friends, he was in fact a most pleasant and friendly man to deal with and those in his office were devoted to him.

His humor was irrepressible and though he was a master of irony and satire, he was not a cynic and was never malicious. His wit was spontaneous and was never coarse nor vulgar.

Mr. Bonaparte's city home was at the northeast corner of Park Avenue and Centre Street; the site now occupied by a commercial

[3] Bishop, p. 170.

building. He was a familiar figure in that neighborhood walking with his peculiar swaying gait and was dubbed by a political opponent living nearby as the " Imperial Peacock of Park Avenue." In 1910 someone stole the doorplate from Mr. Bonaparte's home on Park Avenue and in one of the local papers there appeared an amusing cartoon with Mr. Bonaparte represented as Hamlet, saying, " Who steals my purse steals trash, but he that filches from me my good doorplate robs me of that which is only good for junk and sets me back two dollars."

His first country home was the property at Roland Avenue and Deepdene Road now owned by Dr. A. R. L. Dohme, but with the advent of the trolley cars and the accompanying noise he sold that property and moved to Baltimore County. His country home thereafter was " Bella Vista " on the Harford Road, formerly the Gittings estate. Instead of occupying the original mansion, which was in a little valley, he built his own mansion on a steep hill nearby. After his death one of the Bonaparte's liveried servants brought me a gift from Mrs. Bonaparte: two handsome leather-bound volumes of *Smith's Leading Cases* from Stevens & Haynes, Bell Yard, Temple Bar, London. These contained his book plate with a representation of his dwelling inscribed " Ex Libris Bella Vista " and on the fly leaf in his strong clear handwriting, the letters large and well formed, " Charles J. Bonaparte, January 8th, 1876.

On May 9, 1935, a bronze plaque of Mr. Bonaparte was presented to the City Service Commission by the Woman's Department of the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association. This plaque is the work of Elizabeth Jencks Wrenn and is excellent in every way. After Mr. Bonaparte's death, the late Thomas C. Corner, the well-known artist, painted a portrait of Mr. Bonaparte which was presented to the Enoch Pratt Free Library, of which he was an active trustee. This, too, was presented by the Woman's Department just referred to. This portrait once occupied an important place in the Central Hall, where it was seen by the public. However, during a recent visit there, I found it somewhat difficult to locate the portrait and was told (*sic transit*) that it is now in the private office of the Librarian. It is regrettable that the Library authorities have seen fit to remove the likeness of so distinguished a Baltimorean from public view.

How long ago it seems since Charles J. Bonaparte was driven almost daily in the summer time from his country estate "Bella Vista" on the Harford Road, about fifteen miles from Baltimore, to his law office on St. Paul Street near Lexington St., and afterwards to his city home on Park Avenue and Centre Street, where he had moved his law office. It seems like the story of a remote age to think that Mr. Bonaparte made that fifteen mile drive regularly behind a pair of horses, his coachman cracking a whip and keeping the horses at a fast trot. Those times are gone forever, and men like Charles J. Bonaparte are rare today as personalities, and as citizens they are almost extinct.

"SUSQUEHANNA," A MARYLAND HOUSE IN MICHIGAN

By The Editor

In Greenfield Village, the group of historical buildings assembled at Dearborn, Michigan, just outside of Detroit, by the late Henry Ford, stands a Maryland house of the 17th century. To throngs of visitors it brings the atmosphere of the colonial way of life along the Chesapeake nearly three centuries ago. The house is " Susquehanna," once probably the home of Christopher Rousby, Royal Collector of Customs for the Patuxent River. It stood on the bluff at the south side of the river's mouth on property originally called " Susquehanna Point."

This was part of the 6,800 acres taken by the Government in 1941 for the Patuxent River Naval Air Station. Occupying a commanding site at Fishing Point, a few miles west of Cedar Point, where the Patuxent joins the Chesapeake Bay, " Susquehanna " was inevitably doomed when plans were made to develop a great air base in St. Mary's County. Since the area was less than ten miles from the site of the original settlement of Maryland in 1634 at St. Mary's City, many of the earliest land grants were involved. Among these was " Mattapany " where Governor Charles Calvert, later Third Lord Baltimore, at one time lived, as well as " Susquehanna." The latter was the scene of a meeting of the Governor's Council in 1661,[1] and the site of burial of Christopher Rousby and his brother John.

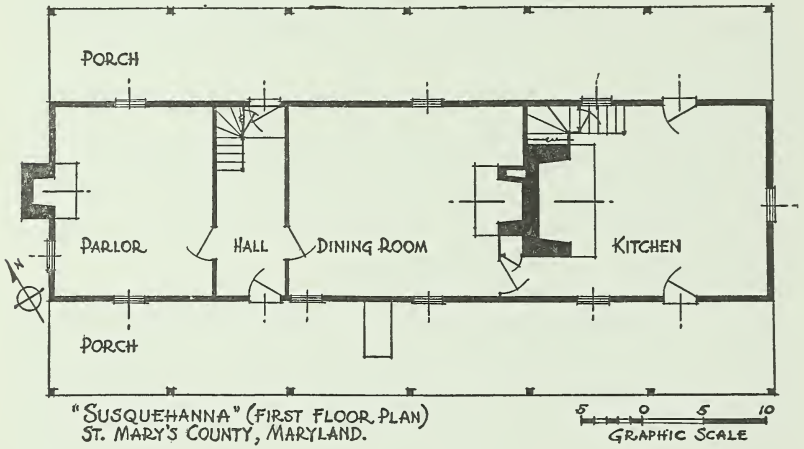
Architectural authorities agree in assigning the building of " Susquehanna " to the middle years of the 17th century.[2] Certain

[1] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 426. " At a Councell held at Sasquehanough Poynt, July 1st, 1661." Whether the meeting was in the house here described or in an earlier one is open to question.

[2] Mr. Lawrence Hall Fowler, Mr. John H. Scarff and Mr. Henry C. Forman have so expressed themselves. Mr. Forman's book *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, Md.: privately printed, 1934), contains at p. 33 two views and a plan of " Susquehanna." The date suggested by Mr. Forman is 1654.

features of construction are similar to those of other homes of the period in this county. Furthermore, the simplicity, not to say crudeness, of the plan and details such as the cramped kitchen stair, the tiny doors on the upper floor and construction of the end chimney justify this conclusion.

The building is a story-and-a-half affair, 60 feet 6 inches in length and 16 feet 4 inches in width, originally without porches. The plan was that of a string of cars. As one approached through a straight drive more than a mile long, the steep roof and long



Drawn for the Magazine by Mr. Bryden B. Hyde from measured drawings in possession Enoch Pratt Free Library.

mass of the building must have excited interest. The identical porches, one on each long side of the house and running the full length, are undoubtedly additions. That on the land side is probably early. Proof of this was found in the overlap of the porch roof at the eaves of the house. Some of the early shingles along the boxed eaves remained visible under the porch.

It has often been surmised that the house was built piecemeal, as so often happened in colonial times, when growing families needed more room, and circumstances permitted greater comfort and convenience. In the case of " Susquehanna," however, available evidence suggests that the house was originally of its present length. The north and south sills (timbers resting on the sidewall foundations) are alike. Each is 60 feet 6 inches in length but in

West view of "Susquehanna," before removal, showing partly free-standing chimney. Photo by Edison Institute, Dearborn, Mich. Courtesy Maryland Room, Pratt Library.

Passage and main stair of "Susquehanna." Wall at left is of ordinary weatherboarding. H. A. B. S. photo.

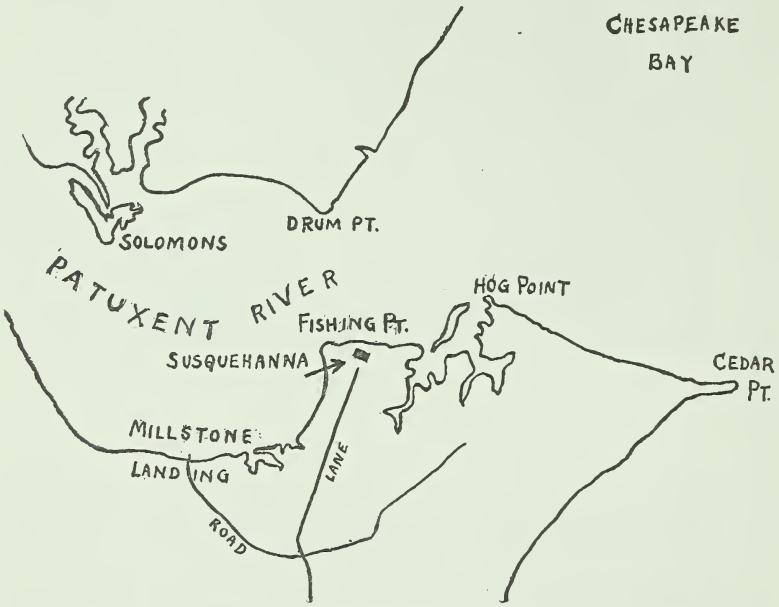
Room over kitchen, showing steep stair from lower floor, tiny door to next room, and handhewn lathes. H. A. B. S. photo.

two pieces, the splice in each side being approximately at the center of the building. The overlap in each case is a long bevel pinned with wood pegs. Mr. E. J. Cutler, supervising architect for the Ford museum project, is convinced that the house was originally built in the present form.[3] Some uncertainty exists regarding the date of the dormer windows of which there are four on each side. Details of construction, disregarding the large panes of glass of recent date which had replaced the original small lights, are like those in other homes of the region. There is no attempt at ornamentation other than simple moldings.

One of the arguments in favor of the theory that the house has had additions is the curious construction of an interior partition in the hall. Originally, when the visitor approached the house through the long driveway, the kitchen end was at right, with a massive chimney in the partition between the kitchen and dining room, and the parlour at the left end where the outside chimney above the level of the fireplace in the second floor stands free of the wall—a common feature of early frame buildings in Southern Maryland. The entrance at left of center leads into the only hall where a steep, winding stair on the left rises to the second floor. This wall, pierced by a doorway to the parlour, is finished on the hall side by overlapping clapboards. The random width boards present the appearance of an outside wall. The door is typical of the period, with six panels arranged in pairs graduated in height from top to bottom. The door frame here and elsewhere in the house is of simple, refined design. One guesses that Rousby, if he was the builder, planned the house in its present form, except for use of the cramped rooms on the second story as bedrooms. It would seem that the only stair originally was that leading from the kitchen. When, later, a better means of utilizing the upper floor was desired, it would have been a simple matter to build a partition in the " great room " or parlour and a stairway in the little hall so formed. Why this partition should have been in the form of outside weatherboarding cannot be explained.

[3] Letter to Dr. Joseph L. Wheeler, dated July 29, 1942. " When the house was first built it consisted of one floor; the hall, stairs, upper bedrooms and dormers were added later. The sills and plates are full length—nothing has been added. The ceiling joists are the same from one end to the other, except in the well hole at the stairs where the header has been nailed on instead of framed in. The lath on the side walls, and ceiling between the hall and parlor ran right through behind the studding, supporting the clapboard partition."

The house has been re-erected in a pleasant site, far from salt water. The picture on the cover shows the river front, kitchen end at left, with the stone tomb of the Rousbys and surrounding iron railing, which also were moved when the house over which they kept vigil for more than two centuries was carried away. The earlier photographs of the exterior and interior, made in 1936 for the Historic American Buildings Survey, under the direction of



Original site of "Susquehanna" house. Sketch from Map of St. Mary's Co., 1903, by Maryland Geological Survey.

Mr. John H. Scarff, and by the staff of Mr. Ford's Edison Institute when the building was still on its original site, fully reveal the various features of construction. Some of these views accompany this article.

The entire house is of frame, except for the chimneys which are all brick. Wide clapboards compose the sheathing front and back. Unlike those of many houses in Southern Maryland, brick end walls were not used. They are built of overlapping clapboards. The porches were obviously added to provide protection from the weather and to make the house more livable. The original win-

dows are believed to have been divided in two equal sashes of six panes each, size 8 by 10 inches. There is an interesting three-light transom above the kitchen door on what was the north or river side. The interior walls with the exception of those in the hallway, were plastered throughout. One of these has been described; the other is plastered above a wood wainscot. The main staircase has a simple post with a black walnut handrail of refined design. The square pine balusters are believed to be replacements. Above stairs adults may stand erect only in the center of the rooms, beneath the comb of the roof. The winding stair leading from the kitchen behind the chimney breast gives access to the small room above where tiny doors on each side of the chimney connect one with a closet and the other with the central room.

The foundations are continuous brick walls, 8 inches thick and about three feet high. There was but one small basement room under the center of the south front, which was entered through a trap door in the porch floor. It was probably not part of the original plan.

The 200 acres on which " Susquehanna " stood were first patented by Joseph Edloe in 1649 under the name " Edloe," but the tract was popularly known as " Susquehanna Point." From certain re-surveys and patents it appears that the property passed to Christopher Rousby; owing to the loss of St. Mary's County deeds, the date cannot be established. Rousby was in Maryland as early as 1666.[4] That he resided on the place is proven by original documents [5] and, considering the evidence already cited, it may be surmised that he lived in this house. Whether it was built by him or by Edloe cannot be learned. Rousby left no children and there is no mention in his will of relatives except his brother John. It is known that the death of his wife, Elizabeth, occurred before his own tragic end in 1684.

John Rousby was the principal heir but died in 1686 and the property escheated to the Proprietary. During the minority of his

[4] Wills, I, f. 420, Hall of Records, Annapolis. He witnessed the will of Thomas Manning, dated Oct. 9, 1666.

[5] Will of John Rousby I, Wills, IV, f. 164, Hall of Records, Annapolis: " I give unto my said sonne John Rousby . . . all that 200 acres of land with the appurtenances called Susquehanna Point where my dear brother lately dwelt . . ." (Dated May 8, 1685, proved Feb. 6, 1686). Quoted in full in Maria Briscoe Croker, *Susquehanna, a Landmark of Old Maryland* (Privately published monograph, 1942). Also will of John Rousby II, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, VIII, 278-279.

son John it was resurveyed for Captain Richard Smith who had married John I's widow Barbara.[6] In due time " Susquehanna " came into possession of John II. He settled, however, at " Rousby Hall " across the river in Calvert County. Like his father and uncle he was an important figure in provincial affairs. Through a connection, Araminta Thompson, who married Captain Henry Carroll, " Susquehanna " passed into ownership of distant relatives of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. After Captain Carroll's death, Sept. 6, 1775, Araminta married George Biscoe. The property descended to Henry James Carroll who was living there at the time of the Civil War. Later it was the home for a time of the Pearson family and finally was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Davis Young of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Mrs. Young was Miss Lola May Carpenter of St. Mary's County. Mr. and Mrs. Young sometimes came to " Susquehanna " for brief visits until her death in August, 1941. When the Government took over the land, Mr. Young presented the house and tomb to Mr. Ford for preservation as features of Greenfield Village.[7]

That another house was the principal residence on the property during the early and middle 1800's is stated by Mrs. Fanny Combs Gough, of Baltimore, a native of St. Mary's County who in her youth was often a house guest of the Carrolls at " Susquehanna." She recalls the nearby site of a house which had been destroyed by fire and where bricks and other signs of ruin were still to be seen. It was the purpose of the Carrolls, prior to the Civil War, to rebuild what had been the mansion, says Mrs. Gough, but they suffered heavy reverses from the war and never were able to carry out the plan. Mrs. Gough reports that the room designated on the drawing as " Parlour " was used as a dining room and that the central room was actually the parlour. The kitchen was an attached room, since destroyed, at the east end of the porch. When she first knew it there was no porch on the river side of the house. Moreover, she gathered that the so-called parlour, at the west end was a late addition. Correlating the architectural evidence and the recollections of Mrs. Gough, one concludes that the house known during late years as " Susquehanna " was used for a time not as the owner's mansion but as a tenant house for a farm overseer or

[6] Rent roll, St. Mary's County, f. 49, 51 (Calvert Paper 885½, Maryland Historical Society).

[7] From Mrs. Croker's booklet to which the writer in indebted for helpful data.

other worker on the place, while the owner,—perhaps Captain Henry Carroll—built and occupied a more pretentious and more convenient house in the immediate vicinity; and that when the larger house burned, the Carrolls moved into the next most habitable house on the plantation, the modest but ancient original residence.

The tragedy of Christopher Rousby's death has for centuries been a subject of speculation and curiosity. He was High Sheriff, 1672, of Calvert County (in which the southern shore of the Patuxent was included until 1695), and a member of the Lower House of Assembly during the years 1678-1683. He was appointed King's Collector of Customs for Patuxent District, some time before April, 1681, when Charles, Third Lord Baltimore, wrote that he had recommended Rousby to succeed him in the Collectorship, when he gave up the Governorship and returned to England following the death of his father.[8] His lordship wrote to a Government officer in England

> humbly to beg your Lo[rdshi]ps favor and just assistance in moving to his Ma[jes]ty in Councill the removing of one Christopher Rousby a Collector here . . . for these Two years and better I have had great cause for and have sent Letters . . . to the Commissioners about the removing of him. . . . I now send againe . . . to be relieved from so great an Evill or rather a Devill for so I may terme the present Collector to be A Fellow that ever since my Returne to Maryland has carried himself with that Pride to severall West Country and New England Traders and Dealers in my province that many of them have quitted a Trade they have long had here. . . . So that My Lord I being proprietor here and may therefore be looked upon as Governor whilst I am in person here am in danger to be brought into Trouble by the unwarrantable proceedings of this insolent and Knavish Collector here who presumes dayly to Nose me and my Government with powers which he pretends to have from his Masters the Commisioners . . . Besides the Knavery he dayly practices amongst the Shipping he is become the most lewd debaucht swearing and most prophane Fellow in the whole Government and indeed not fit to be admitted into Civill society . . .[9]

In 1681 Rousby also returned to England and appeared before the Privy Council which was considering his removal. His counter

[8] McHenry Howard, "Some Early Colonial Marylanders," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XV, 292-303 (Sept. 1920), where Rousby's later career in the Province is more fully given and the supporting documents cited.

[9] *Archives of Maryland*, V, 274-275.

charges were so effective that for a time it appeared that Lord Baltimore's charter was threatened.[10] The latter's accusation against Rousby was dismissed. The late McHenry Howard told the story succinctly in the pages of this Magazine for September, 1920, as follows:

After this the Maryland Archives are silent for a time about Christopher Rousby, but doubtless the bitter feeling between him and Lord Baltimore continued until it had a tragic ending. On 31 October 1684 Rousby was on the King's vessel the ketch * *Quaker*, then lying off his home, "Susquehanna Point" . . . when Colonel George Talbot, a kinsman of Lord Baltimore and first in the Council of Maryland, came on board. A violent quarrel ensued and Talbot stabbed Rousby with a dagger so that he died . . . Captain Allen, commander of the *Quaker*, put Talbot in irons and sent Rousby's body ashore to his home next day . . . The Council of Maryland immediately demanded the surrender of Talbot for trial in Maryland, but Captain Allen refused, the demand being in the name of Lord Baltimore, the Proprietary, but said he would do so if the demand were made in the name of the King; he probably distrusted the Maryland authorities. He carried Talbot to Virginia, which was directly under royal government, claiming that Lord Effingham, the Governor, was "his Chiefe Master in these parts." . . . The Council thereupon wrote to Governor Effingham requesting the delivery of the prisoner so that he might be tried where the murder was committed, but the Governor and Council of Virginia wrote to England for instructions and were directed by the King on 25 February 1684/5 to send Talbot in the *Quaker* to England for trial there . . . Talbot meanwhile had been lodged in gaol in Gloucester Co., Va., and his wife with four men went in a shallop from Maryland and on 10 February 1685/6 effected his escape, probably by bribing the guard. The Maryland Council ordered a "Hue and Cry" for his apprehension, but after lying concealed for a while at the head of the Bay he gave himself up to the Maryland authorities.

The upshot was that Talbot was tried in Virginia, convicted and sentenced to death. He was successful, however, in securing a pardon from King James II and was released some time after September, 1686.

[10] Rousby claimed that Baltimore wished to oust him in order to secure the Collectorship for his step-son Nicholas Sewall. *Archives*, V, 288-289. Many lively pages in this volume are devoted to the quarrel, especially 286-299.

Other references bearing on the Rousby family and "Susquehanna" are: Annie L. Sioussat, *Old Manors in the Colony of Maryland.* 2nd Series. (Baltimore, 1913) p. 16-17; Hester D. Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1913) II, 214-219, and Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930) p. 21-24.

* A small man of war vessel, then used in the Revenue service.

The table-type tomb of the Rousby brothers stood in a field at some distance from the house. The epitaph, which is accompanied by scrollwork, a death's head and crossed bones, is as follows:

Here lyeth the Body of Xph^r Rousbie Esquire who was taken out of this World by A violent Death receiv^d on Board his Majesty^s Ship the Quaker Ketch Cap^t Tho^s Allen command^g the last day of Oct^r 1684 And alsoe of M^r John Rousbie his Brother who departed this Naturall Life on Board the Ship Balltemore Being arrived in Patuxen River the first day February 1685 [11]

The removal of " Susquehanna " to a distant state is another in the long list of regrettable losses to Maryland of early architectural remains. Fortunately, the building and tomb are in safe hands and will always be carefully preserved. It can only be wished that the renewal of activity by the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities had come in time to retain these relics and provide for them new sites as near as possible to the original ones.

[11] February 1685, when the calendar year ended on March 24, is by the modern calendar counted February, 1686.

EARLY ART EXHIBITIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By Anna Wells Rutledge

In a little known chapter in the history of art exhibitions in Baltimore the Maryland Historical Society played a considerable part. From the late 1840's to the 1890's, after the closing of the original Peale Museum and before the Walters Gallery was open regularly to the public, it was to the Society's rooms in the Athenaeum Building that persons wishing to see paintings of the past or present were accustomed to resort. The activities there varied in tempo, interest fluctuated, and canvasses were of unequal merit, but the loan exhibitions and, later, the permanent collection, served the purpose of keeping the idea of a gallery alive until the Walters Collection and the Baltimore Museum of Art took up functions partly or entirely outside the Society's field.

For the twenty years, 1848-1868, the catalogues[1] of the loan exhibitions held under the auspices of the Society showed works by the prominent artists of the day (lent individually and through dealers[2]) portraits by contemporary painters as well as portraits of previous generations, and innumerable canvases attributed to the "Old Masters" from Leonardo to Michelangelo! To-day, although items in the last classification occasionally provide records of "strays" of genuine merit, it is for information on American artists and their works that we find the publications valuable. The 1848 *Catalogue* of the First Annual Exhibition at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society listed "Names And Residences Of Living Artists Whose Works Are Exhibited In The Present Exhibition"[3] and in 1856 the Loan Exhibition and Paint-

[1] See I, below.
[2] Among the dealers were J. S. Earle, Goupil & Co., Sarah Kalbfuss, Knoedler and Co., and J. H. Naff.
[3] See II, below.

ings in the Society's collection were catalogued with a group exhibited by the Artists' Association of Maryland, formed in the autumn of 1855. The foreword to a list of its members [4] announced that

> This Association is composed of Artists, Sculptors, &c. as the active members, who subscribe annually $6 00—also, contributing members, whose annual subscription is $5 00, these enjoying all the privileges of the Society, except the right of voting at elections and holding office.
>
> The requirements of such an association in this City, having been felt by the Artists, &c. they have thus united themselves together for the purpose of mutual encouragement in their professions, and with the view of establishing a permanent Gallery of American art, with an Annual Exhibition of their productions.
>
> This First Exhibition of our Association we present to the public, not as a complete specimen, but as a hasty effort, partially showing what the Artists of Baltimore can do.—and soliciting your support and co-operation, we thus leave ourselves before you.

The catalogues from 1857 through 1907 are similar in format but comparative study [5] shows that while the exhibition of contemporary work had been all but discontinued excellent American canvasses of the past one hundred and twenty-five years and optimistically attributed European works continued on view, many of them group deposits which remained over long periods of years.[6] Thus the Roms of the Society continued a center of study for students and amateurs and placed at their disposal works of merit, for both emulation and enjoyment.

To-day in addition to the interesting information on artists and subjects to be found in such catalogues, they give in condensed form a history of taste. From the inherited collections of family paintings one sees the level of local limners and, from the profuseness or scarcity of their works, the amount of popularity or patronage they enjoyed; from the titles of "subject pieces" loaned or offered for sale one can judge of the popularity of religious, romantic, heroic, historical, touching or sentimental canvases as the tide of taste turned; from the groups of works of art in the

[4] See III, below.

[5] A cumulated file of entries in these catalogues has been set up by artist and subject.

[6] Among the group collections were those of William E. Alcock, the Carroll-McTavish family, the Eatons, the various members of the Gilmor family, John P. Kennedy, Z. Collins Lee, Joseph Meredith, D. T. Shaw, and S. G. Wyman.

galleries of local collectors who bought on the world market one can form opinions of their perspicacity, judgement and personality.

The first group may be indicated by a selected list of subjects of portraits—with the artists' names added when available; the second by a list of selected titles in varied classifications, chosen arbitrarily and with preference given to those with an American flavor. In addition a list of local views is appended, as well as one of American landscapes when identification is positive; and groups illustrating American and General History, Genre and "Literary Titles." The final list is one of names of American artists when they could positively be identified as such.

I. CATALOGUES OF EXHIBITIONS AT THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. First Annual Exhibition, 1848. Baltimore: Printed by John D. Toy, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 12 p.

Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings &c. &c. at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. Second Annual Exhibition, 1849. Baltimore: Printed by John D. Toy, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 15 p.

Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. &c. at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. Third Annual Exhibition, 1850. Baltimore: Printed by John D. Toy, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 12 p.

Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. &c. at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. Fourth Exhibition, 1853. Baltimore: John D. Toy, Printer, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 15 p.

Catalogue of the Manuscripts, Maps, Medals, Coins, Statuary, Portraits and Pictures: and an Account of the Library of the Maryland Historical Society, Made in 1854, Under the Direction of the Library Committee and President, by Lewis Mayer, Assistant Librarian. Baltimore: Printed for the Society by John D. Toy. 1854. 49 + [2] p.

Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. &c. at the Picture Gallery of the Artist's Association, and of the Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore: Printed by John D. Toy, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 1856. 16 p.

Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. &c. at the Picture Gallery

OF THE Maryland Historical Society. SIXTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION, 1858. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 13 p.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, AT THE Picture Gallery OF THE Maryland Historical Society. Seventh Exhibition, 1868. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO. 182 BALTIMORE STREET. 1868. 8p.

1875. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF STATUARY, ON EXHIBITION AT THE Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society Rooms, ATHENAEUM BUILDINGS, *St. Paul and Saratoga Streets*, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO. PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS, PRINTERS AND STATIONERS. 182 BALTIMORE STREET. 1875. 23 p.

1876. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF Statuary and Paintings, ON EXHIBITION At the Gallery of the Md. Historical Society Rooms, ATHENAEUM BUILDINGS, *St. Paul and Saratoga Streets*, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO. PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS, PRINTERS AND STATIONERS, 182 BALTIMORE STREET. 1876. 28 p.

1879. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF Statuary and Paintings, ON EXHIBITION At the Gallery of the Md. Historical Society Rooms, ATHENAEUM BUILDINGS, *St. Paul and Saratoga Streets*, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO. PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS AND STATIONERS, 182 BALTIMORE STREET. 1879. 31 p.

1883. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF STATUARY AND PAINTINGS ON EXHIBITION AT THE GALLERY OF THE Maryland Historical Society Rooms ATHENAEUM BUILDINGS St. Paul and Saratoga Streets BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: JOHN MURPHY & CO. *Printers to the Maryland Historical Society.* 1883. 23 p.

1893. CATALOGUE OF Paintings, Statuary, Etc., ART GALLERY OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. ATHENAEUM BUILDING, E. Saratoga St., between Charles and St. Paul Sts., BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: JOHN MURPHY & CO. 1893. 20 p.

CATALOGUE OF Paintings, Statuary, Etc., ART GALLERY OF THE Maryland Historical Society. ATHENAEUM BUILDING, E. Saratoga Street, between Charles and St. Paul Streets, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: FLEET, MCGINLEY & CO. Exchange Place and Commerce Street. 1896. 20 p.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, STATUARY, ETC. ART GALLERY OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ATHENAEUM BUILDING, E. Saratoga Street, between Charles and St. Paul Streets, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: FLEET MCGINLEY & CO. Exchange Place & Commerce St. 1901. 20 p.

CATALOGUE OF PRINTINGS, STATUARY, ETC. ART GALLERY OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ATHENAEUM, E. Saratoga Street,

between Charles and St. Paul Streets, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: FLEET-MCGINLEY CO. Exchange Place and Commerce Street. 1904. 20 p.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, STATUARY, ETC. ART GALLERY OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ATHENAEUM BUILDING, E. Saratoga Street, between Charles and St. Paul Streets, BALTIMORE. PRESS OF KOHN & POLLOCK, INC. BALTIMORE 1907. 20 p.

II. NAMES AND RESIDENCES OF LIVING ARTISTS WHOSE WORKS ARE EXHIBITED IN THE PRESENT EXHIBITION [1848]

Ames, J.	Boston
Birch, Thomas	Philadelphia
Brown, G. L.	Florence
Bonfield, G. R.	Philadelphia
Cropsey, J. F.	New York
Conarroe, G. W.	Philadelphia
Daily, Mrs. J. [*sic*: Darley]	"
Doughty, T.	"
Durand, A. B.	New York
Fischer, Ernst	Baltimore
Fisher, A.	Boston
Gray, H. P.	New York
George, A.	Baltimore
Gent, Mrs.	"
Hamilton, James	Philadelphia
Kellogg	Cincinnati
Lambdin, J. R.	Philadelphia
Lang, Louis	New York
Leutze, E.	Dusseldorff, Germany
Leslie, C. R.	London
Miller, A. J.	Baltimore
Mount, W. S.	New York
Mayer, F. B.	Baltimore
Persico	Baltimore
Peale, Remb	Philadelphia
Rothermel	"
Shaw, J	Bordentown
Sully, Thomas	Philadelphia
Smith, Russell	Middletown, Pa.
Tiffany, W.	Baltimore
Woodville, R. Caton	Dusseldorff, Germany

III. MEMBERS, ARTISTS' ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND [1856]

Hugh Newell	No. 71 Second Street.
F. B. Mayer	No. 29 Franklin Street.
Van-Arden	No. 69 Fayette Street.
S. N. Carvalho	No. 35 S. High Street.
James Pawley	No. 145 Mulberry Street.
A. J. H. Way	Howard House.
A. Weidenbach	No. 69 Second Street.
A. J. Miller	Carroll Hall.
Henry G. McCann	No. 60 Gough Street.
Miss M. A. McCann	No. 60 Gough Street.
Chas. Volkmar	Frederick Street.
E. McGreggor	Fayette and Charles.
J. H. Tatum	No. 63 W. Baltimore Street.
E. N. Carvalho	No. 32 North Street.
Wm. M. Laning	No. 276 Baltimore Street.
J. K. Harley	No. 244 Baltimore Street.
Thos. R. Jefferys	North and Fayette Streets.
Wm. Brown	No. 47 Howard Street.
Gustavus Naeder	No. 20 Clay Street.
Charles B. Getz	No. 109 N. Calvert Street.
William Ellis	No. 39 Hillen Street.
Ludwig Enke	No. 69 Second Street.
Chas. E. J. Gebhard	No. 19 Barnet Street.
Jn. Richards	No. 12 Holliday Street.
E. Kett	No. 54 Liberty Street.
C. Kraus	No. Mercer Street.
Bebie	N. Gay Street.

OFFICERS

President: Hugh Newell
Vice Presidents: Wm. L. Laning, Edward McGregor
Cor. Sec.: S. N. Carvalho
Rec. Sec.: J. H. Tatum
Treasurer: T. R. Jeffreys
Executive Committee: Van Arden, A. J. H. Way, F. B. Mayer, Aug. Weidenbach, Jas. Pawley.

IV. PORTRAITS EXHIBITED 1848-1907

Addison by Peter Lilly (*sic*) ; Prince Arthur by Godfrey Kneller; Bishop Atkinson; Gonzalo de Avalos by Alfred J. Miller; Colonel John Barnes by Godfrey Kneller; Colonel Richard Barnes by Joshua Reynolds; Commodore Joshua Barney by Couriger; David Barnum; Thomas Birch by John Neagle; Madame Elizabeth Bonaparte by David; Madam Elizabeth

Bonaparte by Gilbert Stuart; King Jerome Bonaparte by Gilbert Stuart; Cadet J. N. Bonaparte by D'Almaine; J. M. Bonaparte by R. Weir; Napoleon and Josephine (enamel miniatures); Napoleon Bonaparte by W. Babcock; Napoleon by David; Napoleon Bonaparte; John Beale Bordley (probably Thomas Bordley attributed to Gustavus Hesselius); Bossuet; Dr. Brown by Jarvis; Dr. John Buckler by Thomas Sully; Byron by Bujac; Byron by Christhilf and Rigart; General and Mrs. John Caldwell by Rembrandt Peale; Charles Calvert, 3rd Lord Baltimore, by Sully; Dr. and Mrs. Carne by Jeremiah Theus; Charles Carroll of Carrollton by William J. Hubard, by Michael Laty (after Wood, Stuart or Field), by Nichol, Peale, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully, unknown artist (when Carroll was ten years old); Mrs. Charles Carroll of Carrollton; father, grandfather and grandmother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton; Archbishop Carroll by Gilbert Stuart; Richard Caton; Charles I by Cooper; by Ernst Fisher after Van Dyck; Charles I and Henrietta by Petrini after Van Dyck; Judge Chase by Jarvis; wife and daughters of Samuel Chase; General Childs by H. G. McCann; Henry Clay by Freeland, Harding, Jarvis, D. A. Woodward, Clevenger; George B. Coale by S. B. Wetherald; George F. Cooke by Drummond; Colonel J. G. Davis by H. D. G. McCann; Dr. De Butts by ——— Peale; Commodore Stephen Decatur by Sully; General DeKalb by ——— Peale; Mme. Dessart as *Dido* by Vanloo; Miss Diggs; Mrs. Dunbar and Child by Alfred J. Miller; Gen. Jubal A. Early; Hugh Davy Evans; Millard Fillmore by Bartholomew; Rev. Wm. de la Fletcher after Jackson by William Gush; Francis I of Austria, Duke of Lorraine, by Adolph Huber; Francis I of Austria by H. Rigaud; Children of Francis I of Austria by J. Rudolph Huber; Countess Graff; General Horatio Gates; Archibald George; Isabel K. George; S. R. Gifford by E. P. Bowers; George M. Gill by Carvalho; O. A. Gill by Elliott; Robert Gilmor by Sir Thomas Lawrence; Mrs. Robert Gilmor by Sir Thomas Lawrence; General Mordecai Gist by ——— Peale; Edward Gray; Col. Nathaniel Greene; William Gwynn by H. G. McCann; Nell Gwynne; Alexander Hamilton by Ceracchi; Hamlet by J. Angus; Robert Goodloe Harper by Harper Pennington after Field; Robert Goodloe Harper by Trentanove; David Harris by Pyne (*sic*); Henrietta Maria by Cooper; Governor Thomas Hicks by Dexter; Colonel Hindman by Jarvis; Mrs. Isaac Hite and James Madison Hite by Polk; Peter Hoffman by Thomas Sully; William Hoffman by Thomas Sully after Lawrence; Francis Hopkinson by himself; John Eager Howard by Laty after ——— Peale; Lady Howard; Archbishop Hughes by Inman; Christopher Hughes by Sir Martin A. Shee; Sara Izard, Lady Campbell, by Gainsborough; General Stonewall Jackson; Henri de Laroche Jaquelin by Greuze; John Jay; Kensey Johns; Mrs. Kensey Johns; Reverdy Johnson; Governor Thomas Johnson and family by Charles Willson Peale; Governor Johnson after Rembrandt Peale; General and Mrs. Bradley T. Johnson; Dr. Christopher Johnston; J. C. Jones by S. B. Wetherald; George P. Kane; Angelica Kauffman by herself; John P. Kennedy by Louis Rabillon; Fanny Kemble as *Julia* by Thomas Sully; Bishop Kemp by Wood; Bishop Kemp by

R. Peale; the Marquis de Lafayette after Sheffer; the Marquis de Lafayette from life; the Marquis de Lafayette by Sheffer; John H. B. Latrobe by John Dabour; Michael Laty by himself; Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Law by Gilbert Stuart; Madame Le Brun by Sasso after Sabatelli; Z. Collins Lee by ——— Peale; Mrs. Z. Collins Lee; Martha J. Lee; Dr. Leide by E. P. Bowers; Leutze's Daughter by W. D. Washington; Captain Richard Lilly; Louis XIII by Largillière; Louis XIV; Louis XV after Mentze; Louis XV and His Companions by Hogarth; The Dauphin, Louis XVI, by Mme. LeBrun; Louis XVIII by Massard; Louis Phillippe and Queen Victoria by Graeffle; Fielding Lucas, Jr., by Wood; Alexander McClure by ——— Peale; Mr. McGilvery of New York; Charles Carroll MacTavish; John MacTavish; Lovatt MacTavish; Mary Wellesley MacTavish; Brother of Mary Wellesley MacTavish; Simon MacTavish; Louis McLane; John V. L. McMahon by Mayer; Machiavelli; the Reverend James Madison by Charles Peale Polk; Mrs. James Madison by Charles Peale Polk; President Madison; Mme. de Maintenon by Rigaud; Lord Mansfield by Thomas Sully; Marie Antoinette by Adolph Huber; Maria Theresa by Adolph Huber; John Marshall by R. Peale; John Marshall by C. G. Lambdin after Inman; Mrs. J. T. Mason by Gilbert Stuart, 1798; George Mason by Boudet, 1811; Thomas Mason; Luther Martin; Massillon; Brantz Mayer by Edward McDowell; the Mayer Family by Schwanthaler; William Mayhew by Ernst Fischer; Major Mercer; Jonathan Meredith; General Mifflin; Duchess of Montpensier; Jared Sparks Moore by Elizabeth Adams; Paul Morphy by Carvalho; the Reverend John G. Morris by Rinehart, by Oscar Hallwig; William Vans Murray by Sharples; Gilbert Stuart Newton by himself; Governor Nicholas by Gilbert Stuart; William Patterson by Thomas Sully; Henry Payson by Jarvis; George Peabody by Lambdin; by Buchanan Read, by John R. Robertson; Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry by Sully; Edward Pickering by Annie Whitney; M. Pollard; Mme. de Pompadour by F. Boucher; William Henry Prescott; Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay; Mrs. George Read; Don José de Rebello by Sara Peale; William Read; Sir Joshua Reynolds by Gilbert Stuart; Cardinal Richelieu; H. Rigaud by himself; Rousseau; Prince Rupert after Vandyke; Walter Scott; Thomas H. Seymour; Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, by Holbein; Gen. William Smallwood by Peale; Father Smith by Woodward; Gen. John Spear Smith by Harley; General Samuel Smith by ——— Peale; Gen. Samuel Smith by Laty after Stuart; Lieutenant Somerville, U. S. N.; Beatrice Sparks by Jane Stuart; Jared Sparks by Gilbert Stuart; Mrs. Jared Sparks by Gilbert Stuart; Jared Sparks by Hiram Powers; Maria V. Sparks by Anne Stuart; Charles David Stuart by A. J. Volck; Dugald Stuart by Mifflin; Sebastian F. Streeter by James K. Harley; General John Stricker by Charles B. King; Thomas Sully by Peale; Roger B. Taney by Miner B. Kellogg, by Frank B. Mayer; General Taylor by James R. Lambdin; Dr. Thomas by Thomas C. Ruckle; Col. N. Towson by Sully; Compte de Toulouse; Charles Thomson; Commodore Upshur; Horace Vernet by William Shorey; Voltaire; General Walbach by Hubard; George Washington by William R. Birch, by Flindon, by Piggot, by Gilbert Stuart (4),

after Stuart, by Christhilf and Rigart, by unknown artist, by Chêvalier; William Washington by Peale; Sergeant Wallace of 1776 by John Neagle; S. T. Wallis by Thomas Corner; S. T. Wallis by Bendann; Mrs. Waylett of the Theatre Royal, London, by W. P. Frith; Daniel Webster by Clevenger, by an unknown artist, at Marshfield by A. J. Miller; Weenix by Rigaud; Duke of Wellington by Bordley after Sir Thomas Lawrence; Marquis of Wellesley by an unknown artist; Marchioness of Wellesley by Sir Thomas Lawrence; Marchioness of Wellesley after Sir Thomas Lawrence; The Rev. John Wesley after Jackson by William Gush; General O. H. Williams by ——— Peale, by Michael Laty after Peale; Roy Williams by Elizabeth Adams; Isabel G. Wilson; John Wilson; William Hutton Wilson; General William Winder by Cannon; Father of George D. Wise; Son of George D. Wise; Mrs. Wood as *Amina* by Thomas Sully.

V. GENERAL SUBJECTS EXHIBITED 1848-1907

American Landscape

Farm Scene in Connecticut by Anderson; *Autumn Near Hingam*, Mass. by H. P. Hart; *View on the Susquehanna* by Thomas Doughty; *The Hawk's Nest, Kanawha River* by T. W. Whitridge; *Schroon Mountain*, N. Y., by Cole; *View on the Erie Canal* by Oddie; *Catskill House* by Miss Cole; *View on the Mauch Chunk* by Greenwald; *Headwaters of the Delaware* by Beaumont; *Southern Landscape* by Ed. Seeger; *A Scene in Vermont* by Carminke; *Scene on the Ohio* by E. M. Punderson; *McConnell's Cove from Cove Mountain* by J. R. Smith; *Landscape in Orange County, N. Y.* by Ingham; *Lake George at Sunset* by Durand; *View Near Cape May* by Hamilton; *Shore at Nahant* by William Hart; *View on the Hudson, Catskill Mountains in the Distance* by Thomas Cole; *Shawangunk Mountains* by S. R. Gifford; *Sunday Afternoon in the Berkshires* by James M. Hart; *Coast at Newport* by S. Colman; *Genessee Valley* by J. F. Kensett; *Connecticut River near Bellona Falls* by A. W. Thompson; *Landscape, in Western Virginia* by W. L. Sonntag; *Autumn, Ulster County, N. Y.* by William Hart; *Pulpit Rock, Nahant*, by W. S. Haseltine; *Beach Near Salem* by J. F. Kensett; *Autumn in Vermont* by A. D. Shattuck; *On the Cheat River* by John R. Key; *Kaaterskill Cove* by S. R. Gifford; *Summer in the North* by James M. Hart; *Upland River, New Hampshire*, by McLeod; *View on the Hudson* by J. F. Kensett; *Autumn in the Catskills* by Jervis McEntee; *Sketch Near Gardiner, Maine*, by H. P. Hart; *Beverly Beach* by J. F. Kensett; *Shenandoah Valley* by Wilson; *On the Hudson* by Bartlett; *Mount Vernon* by Harper Pennington; *Autumn at Harper's Ferry* by Weidenbach; *Upland River, New Hampshire*, by W. S. Tiffany; *Fishkill Mountain and Hudson River*, by Remy Mignot; *Landscape Near Otsego Lake, N. Y.*, by Mignot; *View on the Guayaquill River, South America*, by Mignot; *Volcanic Regions, Near Cotopaxi, South America*, by Mignot; *View of the Cordilleras near Cotopaxi, South America*, by

Mignot; *South American Landscape* by Mignot; *Lake Scene and Sunset, Oregon*, by A. J. Miller; *Landscape in Oregon*, by Miller; *View in the Cochotope Pass, Rocky Mountains, discovered by Colonel Fremont* by S. N. Carvalho; *Entrance to the Valley of St. Clare, between Utah and California*, by Carvalho; *Sunset on the Los Angeles River* by Carvalho.

Maryland Views

Baltimore from Howard's Park by George Beck; *St. Mary's Chapel* by Maximilian Godefroy; several views, including one of Bolton, by Francis Guy; *View on Jones' Falls* by Augustus John; *View in Maryland* by James C. Jones; *Washington's Headquarters, Cumberland*, by J. C. Jones; *The Glades, Western Maryland* by J. C. Jones; *Landscape near Cumberland, Maryland*, by J. C. Jones; *Herring Run* by H. Bolton Jones; *View of Baltimore* by Lane; *Baltimore Cathedral* by B. H. Latrobe; *The Baltimore Exchange* by B. H. Latrobe; *Fort Cumberland* by Brantz Mayer; *Fort Frederick* by Brantz Mayer; *A Frostburg, Maryland, Coal Mine* by F. B. Mayer; *Bombardment of Fort McHenry* attributed to A. J. Miller; *Baltimore in 1752* by John Moale; *St. Mary's Church, Harford Co.*, by Niernsee and Nielson; *Battle of North Point* by Thomas Ruckle; *St. Paul's Church* attributed to Thomas Ruckle, Sr.; *Fairview Inn* by Thomas C. Ruckle; *View on Jones' Falls* by Cariolanus A. Smith; *Landscape, Western Maryland*, by Adalbert J. Volck; *View on Gunpowder River* by A. Weidenbach; *Conflagration, Baltimore, 1827*, by an unknown artist; *Old Baltimore* by an unknown artist.

American History

Daniel Boone Discovering the Valley of the Mississippi by King; *The Ransom of Montezuma* by Mayer; *Washington and the Generals at Yorktown* by Charles Willson Peale, (now attributed to James Peale); *The Launch of the Brigantines (Mexico—Dias)* by Rothermel; *Penn's Treaty with the Indians* after West. *The Buffalo Hunt on the Prairie*, known in the West as a "Surround," by A. J. Miller; *Indian Caressing His Horse* by A. J. Miller; *Indian Chief* by A. J. Miller; *Indians Hunting* by A. J. Miller; *Indians Shooting a Panther* by A. J. Miller; *Indian on the Retreat* by A. J. Miller; *Indian and Trappers* by A. J. Miller; *Indian Warrior* by A. J. Miller; *A Sioux Chief Attacked by Blackfeet Indians* by A. J. Miller; *Snake Indian Horseman* by A. J. Miller; *Sir George Stewart's Caravan in Camp, Nebraska River*, by A. J. Miller; *Sir George Stewart's Caravan Crossing the Prairie* by A. J. Miller.

General History

Return of the Crusaders by G. L. Brown; *Pilgrims Arriving in Sight of the Holy City* by Eastlake; *Battle of Austerlitz* by Godefroy after Gérard; *Aggripina with the Ashes of Germanicus* by Angelica Kauffman; *Huss Before the Council of Constance* by Lessing; *Calvin's First Communion* by E. H. May; *Introduction of Christianity to England* by Woodside; *Regulus Leaving Rome to Return to Carthage* by B. West; *Opening of the Hugenot Wars* by W. D. Washington.

Genre

Making Sauerkraut by David Blythe; *Artist and Newsboy* by David Blythe; *The Itinerant Book Vendor* by Carvalho; *The Belle of Newport* by Court; *Cobbler Reading Cobbett's Journal after Liverseege* by W. Gould; *The Emigrants* by Fisher; *The Emigrant's Widow* by Fisher; *Three Members of the Temperance Society* by Herrick; *Papa's Portrait* by Eastman Johnson; *New England Interior* by Eastman Johnson; *Independence* by Frank B. Mayer; *The Village Loafer* by F. B. Mayer; *Topping Corn* by F. B. Mayer; *Scene from Swallow Barn* by F. B. Mayer; *Returning from the Warren* by Miss M. A. McCann; *Cobbler Reading the President's Message* by A. J. Miller; *Boy Getting Over a Fence, Throg's Point, N. Y.,* by William S. Mount; *Farmer Whetting His Scythe* by William S. Mount; *The Tough Story* by William S. Mount; *Sergeant Wallace of 1776* by John Neagle; *Finding the Mastodon* by Charles Willson Peale; *The Tuscan Hat* by Rembrandt Peale; *Virginia Wedding* by William Ranney; *Catching Flounders* by Joshua Shaw; *The Belle of Philadelphia* by Mrs. J. Smith; *Virginia Quilting Party, "Sam Bates and Sally Jones,"* by D. H. Strother; *Old Uncle Ned* by D. H. Strother; *A Tale of the Revolution* by Sully; *The Spinning Wheel* by W. S. Tiffany; *The Chess Players* by W. D. Washington; *Rope Ferry* by Wilson; *Politics in an Oyster House* by Caton Woodville.

"Literary Titles"

Quarrel between Adolpho and His Lady Love by Persico; *Rebecca and Bryan de Bois Guilbert* by Ruckle; "*Genevieve*" by Miss Cole; *Judgement Scene in the Merchant of Venice* by Rothermel; *Scene from Romeo and Juliet* by Bebie; "*Little Nell*" by Thomas Sully; *Voltaire and M'lle D'Noyer* by S. N. Carvalho; *Romeo and the Apothecary* by W. S. Tiffany; *Subject from Monte Cristo, The Monk Teaching Young Vampa to Read* by E. Bowers; *Parting of Conrad and Medora* by Brummer; *Scene from J. J. Rousseau* by Besson; *Trial of Queen Catherine*, artist unknown; *Elopement of Goetz von Berlichgen* by Lanmann; *Di Vernon* by A. George; *Romeo and Juliet* by Jalabert; *Eloise and Abelard* by E. Van-Reuth; *Dr. Primrose Overturning the Cosmetic* by A. J. Miller; the *Taming of the Shrew* by Stephanoff.

VI. AMERICAN ARTISTS EXHIBITING 1848-1907

Joseph A. Ames (1816-1872), Sophie[?] Anderson (active. c. 1860), Richard Ansdell (1815-1885), George A. Baker (1821-1880), William H. Beard (1824-1900), Hans Heinrich Bebie (d. 1888), George Beck (1748-1812), Eugene Benson (1829-1908), Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902), Thomas Birch (1779-1851), William R. Birch (1755-1834),

David Blythe, George R. Bonfield (1802-1898), George H. Boughton (1833-1905), George Loring Brown (1814-1889), John George Brown (1831-1913), William Brown, John Carlin (1813-1891), John H. Carmiencke (1810-1867), Denis M. Carter (1828-1881), John W. Casilear (1811-1893), Solomon N. Carvalho, E. N. Carvalho (active c. 1856), Leger Cherelle (c. 1816-1854), Frederick E. Church (1826-1900), Shobal V. Clevinger (1812-1843), Sarah Coale (active c. 1850), Thomas Coale (1801-1848), George W. Conarroe (1803-1882), John S. Copley (1737-1815), Jasper F. Cropsey (1823-1900), John Dabour (1837-1905), Georges D'Almaine (active c. 1850-1880), Jane Sully Darley (1807-1877); Charles T. Dix (1837-1873), Thomas Doughty (1793-1856), Asher B. Durand (1796-1886), Francis W. Edmunds (1806-1863), J. J. Eeckhout (active c. 1850), Charles L. Elliott (1812-1868), Ludwig Enke (working c. 1856), Alvin Fisher (1792-1863), Ernst Fisher (1815-1874), Charles E. J. Gebhard (active c. 1856), Mrs. Gent (active c. 1848), Archibald George (active c. 1848), Charles B. Getz (active c. 1856), Sanford R. Gifford (1823-1880), Regis F. Gignoux (1816-1882), Walter Gould (active c. 1830-50), Maximilian Godefroy (active c. 1805-1819), Henry Peters Gray (1819-1877), William Groombridge (1748-1811), Gustavus Grunewald (1805-1878), Francis Guy (1760-1820), Thomas Hill (1829-1908), William J. Hubard (1807-1862), Richard W. Hubbard (1816-1888), Daniel Huntington (1816-1906), James Hamilton (1819-1878), James K. Harley (1828-1889), Chester Harding (1792-1866), James M. Hart (1828-1901), William Hart (1823-1894), Marinus Harting (active c. 1850), William J. Hays (1830-1875), William S. Haseltine (1835-1900), H. W. Herrick (active c. 1858), Thomas Hicks (1823-1890), Charles C. Ingham (1796-1863), Henry Inman (1801-1846), George Innes (1825-1894), Thomas R. Jeffreys (active 1856), Eastman Johnson (1824-1906), Miner K. Kellogg (1814-1889) John F. Kensett (1818-1872), John R. Key, Emil Kett, Charles R. Leslie (1794-1859), Emanuel Leutze (1816-1868), George Linen (1802-1888), James R. Lambdin (1807-1889), J. H. Lambinet (active c. 1860), Louis Lang (1814-1893), Fitz Hugh Lane (b. 1804), W. S. Laning, Michael Laty (1826-1848), Benjamin H. Latrobe (1766-1820), H. D. G. McCann, Miss M. McCann, Jervis McEntee (1828-1891), E. McGregor (active 1856), W. A. K. Martin (1817-1867), Edward H. May (1824-1887), Frank B. Mayer (1827-1899), Christian Mayer (d. 1850), H. Merle (active 1856), Louis R. Mignot (1831-1870), Alfred J. Miller, (1810-1874), John Moale (1731-1798), William S. Mount (1807-1868), John Neagle (1796-1865), Hugh Newell (1830-1915), Gilbert Stuart Newton (1794-1835), Walter M. Oddie (1808-1865), Joseph B. Ord (1805-1865), Charles Peale Polk (b. 1767), William H. Powell (1823-1873), William Page (1811-1885), Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827), Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), Sara Peale (1800-1885), James Peale (1749-1831), Gennario Persico (working c. 1820-1840), Robert Edge Pine (1730-1788), William T. Ranney (1813-1857), Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-1872), William T. Richards (1833-1905), John R. Robertson

(active c. 1857-1869), John Rolfe (active c. 1840), H. Roos (active c. 1825), Edward Savage (1761-1817), James Sharples (d. 1811), Joshua Shaw (1776-1860), John R. Smith (1775-1859), William L. Sontag (1822-1900), Richard M. Staigg (1817-1881), G. Saal (active c. 1850), David H. Strother (1816-1888), Anne Stuart, Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828), Jane Stuart (d. 1888), Thomas Sully (1783-1872), Cephas G. Thompson (1809-1888), Van Arden (active c. 1856), Eugene J. Verboeckhoven (1798-1881), Charles Volkmar (active 1856), Andrew J. H. Way (1826-1888), Paul Weber (1823-1916), Robert W. Weir (1803-1889), Adolph Wertmuller (1751-1811), Benjamin West (1727-1830), S. B. Wetherald, Isaac L. Williams (1817-1895), J. I. Williams (b. 1813), Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1856), D. A. Woodside.

A SECOND VISITATION OF WESTERN TALBOT [1]

EMERSON B. ROBERTS

WRIGHTSON OF "CLAY'S NECK"

Almost opposite Wade's Point, on the left of the road, a little below the village of McDaniel, and at the head of First or Harris Creek is "Clay's Neck," 100 acres, originally surveyed in the Cattaile Branch for Henry Clay. That Henry Clay is the ancestor of the great Kentuckian is surmised by no less an authority on Talbot than John Bozman Kerr.[2] The old home, demolished some years ago, was one of the oldest in Talbot. Originally the walls were of brick two feet thick, later the front and back were replaced by frame, with the brick ends standing, then years later the brick ends were torn out and the old frame part left standing with new frame ends. Through the years it served successively as a home of Clays, Wrightsons and Lowes. A brick, long treasured by Judge Slaughter, bore the date, 1610, but where the brick was burned one can only surmise.[3]

The deed from Henry Clay and his wife Elizabeth to Nicholas Lurkey, May 17, 1666, provides a name more ancient than "Clay's Neck"—therein the tract is called "Oyster Shell Poynt." Henry Clay—probably the second Henry Clay, born 5th month, 22nd day, 1655 [4]—and wife, Mary, on April 20, 1684, conveyed to James Sedgwick his plantation and lands adjoining called "Lurkey" and "Clay's Neck." By 1684 the Clays had sold the last of their Talbot property and removed to Virginia, if the surmise of John Bozman Kerr is correct.

[1] "A Visitation of Western Talbot," by Emerson B. Roberts, appeared in this Magazine, Vol. XLI, 235-245. (September, 1946).

[2] Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, I, 206.

[3] Easton *Star-Democrat*, Feb. 11, 1928, tells the story and includes a photograph of the old home.

[4] Kent County Court records. *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, 38.

On the land, near the road, was the old Quaker Meeting House built by the hands of John Lowe, Robert Clark and William Worrilow. The Wrightsons, to whom the land came, to this generation respect the burying ground as sacred—plow has never turned the soil. Long since the Meeting House was pulled down but the lumber, brown with the years, was used in building two houses that yet stand across the road.

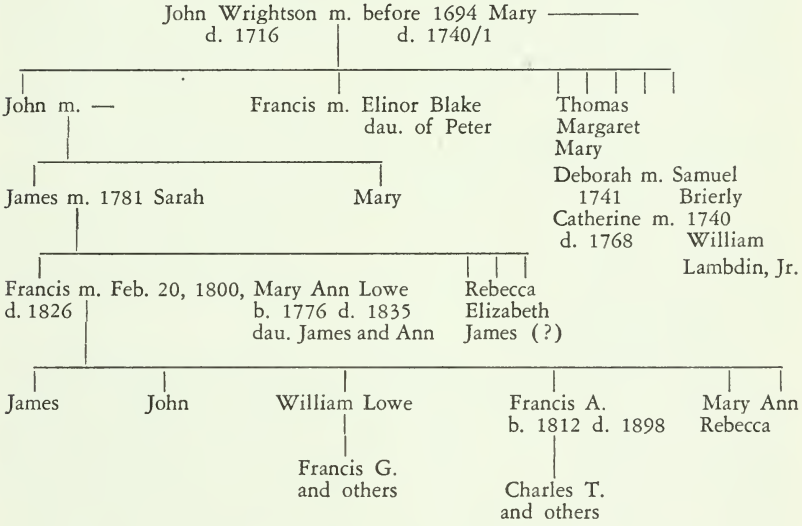
John Wrightson, the immigrant, was a Yorkshireman. Mary, his wife, had ties of kinship with several Talbot families some of which were from Yorkshire. She inherited land from Colonel Thomas Smithson, Gent., of Miles River, a member of the Provincial Council from Talbot, 1694 to 1706.[5] James Sedgwick, in his will, 1694, calls Mary and John, " couzens " and makes them his administrators.[6] " Stepney," originally surveyed for James Sedgwick, came to John Wrightson in right of his wife.[7] She had ties with Nicholas Lurkey, born in 1634, immigrant to Maryland, 1658.[8] " Lurkey," 250 acres in Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties, surveyed April 20, 1662, for Nicholas Lurkey, near the head of Harris Creek, also came to John Wrightson in right of his wife.[9] Mary Wrightson was a kinswoman of Captain James Murphy and of the Dawsons. Then there is record in the Principal Probate Registry in London of a debt to be remitted to the widow Wrightson in Talbot County.[10] With all her manifold ties it is puzzling that no combination of the records yields her maiden name.

John Wrightson's will was made March 15, 1716/17 and proven July 16, 1717.[11] He left " Lurkey " to his eldest son, John, together with " Clay's Neck " and a parcel known as " Cooper." To Francis he left " Jordin Folly ' and " Gaskin Point." To his widow he left " Reviving Springs " " at her disposing, equally among five children, Margaret, Mary, Deborah, Catherine and Thomas."

In the period of her long widowhood, Mary was a power in

[5] Wills, Liber 13, 649, Hall of Records, and G. A. Hanson, *Old Kent*, 382.
[6] Wills, VII, 77, Hall of Records.
[7] Queen Anne's Co. Rent Roll, Maryland Historical Society.
[8] Index of Early Settlers, Land Office, Annapolis.
[9] Rent Rolls, Talbot and Queen Anne's, A 1-15, Maryland Historical Society. Wills, Liber 5, 285, and Liber 5, 77, and Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 23, 282, Hall of Records.
[10] P. C. C., 253, Greely, London. Sherwood, *American Colonists in the English Records*, 2nd Series, page 190.
[11] Wills, Liber 14, 435, Hall of Records. Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, IV, 121.

the community, continuing to reside on "Clay's Neck." Around that tract she consolidated the Wrightson homestead. She applied for a patent November 1, 1726, the land was resurveyed November 23, 1726, and the patent issued January 4, 1734. In her will, February 5, 1740, probated August 25, 1741, she bequeathed to her son Francis her interest in "Clay's Neck" and "Jordon's Folly." She left her grandson, James, a dwelling plantation, "Lurkey" and "Gaskins Neck." "Reviving Springs" she left to her grandsons and to her youngest son, Thomas, "should he return to claim his share." [12]



LOWE OF GRAFTON MANOR

The Manor of "Grafton," 1000 acres on the north side of Choptank and the west side of Harris Creek, has been identified with the Lowes since the days of Colonel Vincent Lowe. However, the first patent was to Colonel John Harris, merchant of London, 1659. Harris never resided in Maryland, and at his death without heirs, the patent became escheat. It was reissued, "my Lord to Vincent Lowe," in 1686. It provides "a Court Leete and Baron and all things thereunto pertaining under the Law and Custom of

[12] Wills, Liber 22, 390, Hall of Records, and Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, VIII, 145.

England." [13] Colonel Lowe sold portions of the manor and in his will professes the sale of other portions not recorded. "Grafton Manor" includes "Lowe's Delight," "Haddaway's Lott," "Rich Neck," "Good Luck," "Cabin Creek," "Hall's Fortune," and "Homestead," which was between the head of Grace's Creek and the Lambdin land.

The English descents of the Lowes of Derbyshire from Thomas del Lowe of Macclesfield, who died February 10, 1415, at eleven of the clock at night, are beyond the scope of this paper.[14] However, to show the relationship among the Lowe immigrants to Maryland, it is not necessary to go further back than to Vincent Lowe, born 1594, yet living in 1634,[15] one of the "Commissioners for the Better Plantation of Virginia." This Vincent Lowe married Ann Cavendish, daughter, albeit a natural daughter, of Henry Cavendish of Tutbury Priory in Staffordshire, Member of Parliament, son of Sir William Cavendish and his wife, Elizabeth Hardwick, remembered as "Building Bess of Hardwick," who, by her fourth and last marriage, became the Countess of Shrewsbury.[16] Vincent and Ann had among their ten children, Colonel Vincent Lowe of Maryland, and Jane Lowe, afterward Lady Baltimore, who came to Maryland.

Colonel Vincent Lowe, immigrant to Maryland 1672, brother-in-law of the Lord Proprietor, Member of the Council, Surveyor-General of the Province, High Sheriff of Talbot 1675/8, in 1680 and again 1685-6, one of "Ye Worshipful Commissioners and Justices of the Peace for Talbot," was one of the largest landholders of Maryland. He married Elizabeth Foster, the widow Hawkins, daughter of Seth Foster, and through her Foster's Island or Great Choptank Island, now Tilghman's Island, came to him.

Jane Lowe, his sister, married first, Honorable Henry Sewell, of Matapany in Calvert County, Secretary of Maryland. After his death in 1665, she married in 1666 Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore.[17] Jane had children by both marriages; by her

[13] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII, 325 for references.

[14] However, these may be traced by reference to the following: Nash, *History of Worcestershire*, 1799, II, 95; *Normanorum Scriptores*, 1124; *Journal of Derbyshire*, 1881; Jewill, *Reliquary*, VIII, 113 and XII, plate 34; Wolley, *MSS in British Museum*; *Visitation of Derbyshire*, 1612; *Harl. MS* 1093; Hunter, *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, III.

[15] *Visitation of Yorkshire.*

[16] Rawson, *Building Bess of Hardwick* (London, 1910).

[17] Testamentary Proceedings, Liber I, 106, Hall of Records.

second marriage she was the ancestress of the subsequent Lords Baltimore.[18]

Two of the grandchildren, brothers, of Vincent and Ann had distinguished parts in Maryland. They were Colonel Nicholas Lowe of Talbot and Colonel Henry Lowe of Calvert County. Nicholas arrived in 1674.[19] He was a member of the Lower House 1694-5, and 1701-11. In 1711 he became Clerk of Talbot County. His Talbot Land patent, "Lowes Rambles," 1440 acres, was surveyed May 28, 1696. He married Elizabeth, widow of Major William Combes, and daughter of Edward Roe, Gent. He died October 22, 1714, in Talbot. Ebenezer Cook wrote an elegy which was printed in 1729 and is extant. The family of Colonel Nicholas Lowe does not belong to western Talbot and so is not followed here.

Henry Lowe, younger brother of Nicholas, came at the same time. He settled first in Calvert, then in St. Mary's, and like his brother, filled high office. In 1684-5 he was Collector of the Customs; 1694-7 Judge of the Provincial Court; 1698-1700 High Sheriff of St. Mary's; and, 1701-2 a Member of the Lower House. He married Susannah Maria Bennett, widow of John Darnall, and granddaughter of Governor Richard Bennett of Virginia. The Society has printed a very complete story of Colonel Henry Lowe.[20]

Two of the great-grandsons of Vincent and Ann had parts in Maryland affairs. They were the sons of John Lowe of Denby, Derbyshire, born 1642, by his second wife, Mary Stead of St. Botolph. Charles Lowe was a careful man of business and devoted to the interests of the Calverts whom he served as a secretary. The late Dr. B. C. Steiner edited some of the correspondence between Charles Lowe and Lord Baltimore.[21] There is no evidence that Charles Lowe ever resided in Maryland, but among his six sons was Stead Lowe, who came to Somerset County and married there. The other was John Lowe, great-nephew of Colonel Vincent Lowe.

Colonel Vincent Lowe died in Talbot in 1692 without issue. His landed estate totaled more than 12,000 acres in Talbot, Cecil,

[18] The history of Col. Vincent Lowe and of Lady Jane Baltimore are amply set forth in the records and publications of the Society.
[19] Liber XVIII, 169, and Chancery Court, PC 849, Land Office.
[20] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II, 170, 181, 281.
[21] *Maryland Historical Magazine* III, index.

Queen Anne's, Dorchester and Baltimore counties, as well as land in Derbyshire. One of the witnesses to his will is John Lowe.[22]

John Lowe, close by ties of blood and community of property with Colonel Vincent Lowe, resided on "Grafton Manor," to which, immediately after the death of his kinsman, he took steps to confirm his title. He petitioned the Provincial Council for the assignment and the petition was granted.[23] Later he petitioned for a resurvey of "Grafton Manor" which was also granted, August 21, 1722.

John Lowe was a "convincement" of the Quakers. Thomas Taylor, William Burges, Robert Clarkson, Thomas Mears and William Durand are others who became "followers of the inner light." [24] From 1691 the name of John Lowe begins to occur in the Quaker records and in 1700 John Lowe married Mary Bartlett in Third Haven Meeting, the daughter of that steadfast old Yorkshire Quaker, Thomas Bartlett. His adherence to "the good order" no doubt did not injure his marriage suit.

John Lowe's last record in Third Haven was made 2nd month, 31st day, 1726. His will is dated 11th month, 26th day in the same year. He divided "Grafton Manor" between the two sons, he left Negroes to his two daughters and a bequest "to the Meeters at the Bayside." [25] The widow, Mary, survived.[26]

The son, John Lowe, Jr. was less a Quaker than his father. He was a large slave owner, and has left few records in the Quaker Meeting. He married twice, but all of his children were by the first wife. His will,[27] is dated 1747. The original rests in the vaults at Easton.

James Lowe, the only son, inherited most of the original "Grafton Manor," part from his father and part from his uncle Thomas, who died unmarried. He married, January 26, 1758, Ann Lambdin, a daughter of the Lambdin and Wrightson families. James Lowe's military record began in 1748 as a member of Captain Haddaway's Company of Colonial Militia.[28] The *Maryland*

[22] Wills, Liber VI, 7, Hall of Records. Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, II, 56.
[23] Rent Rolls, Liber I L # A, 395, and P L # 5, 402, Land Office. *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXXIII, 325 ff. *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, 448.
[24] Rufus Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (1923), 329 ff.
[25] Wills, 19 141, Hall of Records.
[26] Inventory 12, 173, Hall of Records.
[27] Wills, XXV, 300, Hall of Records.
[28] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI, 192.

Gazette reported the arrival on Friday, May 5, 1752, of Captain James Lowe, Master of the *Elijah*, direct from the coast of Africa with "a parcel of healthy slaves, men, women and children." James Lowe is duly recorded in the Talbot Census of 1776 and in the Federal Census of 1790. Some of his transactions are in the Debt Books of 1766. In March 1756 he was one of those who befriended "the late inhabitants of Nova Scotia late set down in this Province.[29] The Council at Annapolis, Thursday, May 23, 1776, confirmed his commission in Captain Haddaway's Company of Talbot troops, 38th Regiment.[30] His sword is in the possession of the author of this article.

John Lowe m. 1700 Mary Bartlett
d. 1726 | dau. of Thomas and Mary

John
d. 1747
m. 1, 1729 Elizabeth Auld
dau. of James and Sarah

m. 2, Mary ————
she m. 2, 1749, Thomas Haddaway, Jr.

Thomas

Elizabeth m. Thos. Buckingham
Mary m. McLaughlin McDaniel
d. 1732/3

James, 1730-1802
m. 1758 Ann Lambdin, d. Oct. 16, 1778

Elizabeth m. John Haddaway
Frances m. Robert Lambdin
Esther
Mary
Sarah, living in 1760, m. Robert Dawson
Another daughter

John, Jan. 8, 1759—June 18, 1806, m. May 10, 1787, Ruth Sears, Lieut. in 1st Reg. (*Arch.*, XVIII).
Elizabeth, b. Mar. 27, 1760, m. Jeremiah Bromwell.
William, Apr. 22, 1761—Jan. 20, 1782, Lieut. killed in the explosion of the barge *Fearnought*.
Thomas, Sept. 27, 1762—Sept. 12, 1763.
Catherine, b. Jan. 18, 1764, m. 1784 William Bryan, d. 1831.
Ann, Feb. 29, 1768—Apr. 9, 1828, m. 1788 Thomas Lambdin, 1763-1826.
James, Jan. 2, 1770—ca. 1812, m. ———— Mullikin.
Sarah, b. July 19, 1771, d. after 1823, m. 1, John Tucker, m, 2 ———— Richards.
Wrightson Lambdin, July 9, 1773—May 13, 1848, m. Susannah Haddaway.
Mary Ann, Apr. 9, 1776—Jan. 27, 1835, m. Feb. 20, 1800, Francis Wrightson, 1769—1826.

[29] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III, 12.
[30] *Archives of Maryland*, XI, 438.

Lambdin of Summerton and Winterton

On Harris Creek across from "Grafton Manor" were the Lambdins. Originally of County Durham, Robert Lambdin, Gent. came to Virginia in 1638 [31] possibly with other members of the Lambdin family. With his wife, Mary, he came to Maryland, Feb. 5, 1663 [32] in the party of Captain Josiah Fendall. They purchased, November 13, in the 38th year of Cecilius, from William Killman and his wife for 6000 lbs. of tobacco "Armstrong's Folly," 200 acres, on James Island, Dorchester County.[33] This tract they sold a year later to Richard Gibbs, Merchant of Worcestershire, for 11,000 lbs. of the staple.[34] While making this profit, Robert Lambdin was dealing in Talbot land. "Rehoboth," 50 acres, on the north side of Choptank and west side of Harris Creek" was surveyed for him, May 6, 1667, and that he sold a year later to George Collison.

Robert Lambdin, like many another, came under the influence of the Bayside Quakers, but not too firmly. His name is frequent among those who signed wedding certificates, 1672-3.[35] In his will, made in 1680, when he was "aged and weak in body and dim of sight" he testifies ". . . concerning the blessed truth . . . which is the way the people of God called Quakers walk in . . . I give my testimony . . . that it is God's truth and that it is the way God appointed that man should walk . . . though I have not walked uprightly therein nor steadfastly.[36]

He left little estate, provided poorly for his widow Ann, and instructed his executors, Robert Fortune and William Jones: "Take my son from my wife she not being a woman fitting to have the education of children." William, the son, was under eighteen years of age, and from the language of the will apparently by the first wife. There seem to have been no other children except for a slight inference that may be drawn from the will of John

[31] Greer, *Virginia Immigrants*; see Robert, William and Martha Lambdin.
[32] Patent Records, V, 516, Land office.
[33] Old Liber I, 22 and 57 for Dorchester, Hall of Records; photostat at Cambridge.
[34] *Ibid.*, 31.
[35] Third Haven Records from 1st month, 29th day, 1668, recently rediscovered and reported in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society*, XXXV, 6.
[36] Original Wills, Talbot Co., Folder L, Hall of Records. The will was never accepted for probate as the court was not satisfied with the testimony of the witnesses. Testamentary Proceedings, Hall of Records.

Kersey of Talbot. Ann, the widow, became the wife of William Thomas.[37]

William Lambdin built more substantially than his father appears to have done. By patent and by purchase he built up an estate which in large part remained in the family until 1873. "Summerton," 200 acres, patented originally to Thomas Seymour, 1659, "Winterton," adjoining, surveyed June 3, 1713, and "William and Mary Addition," were patented to him.[38] By purchase from John Lowe, January 16, 1724, he secured "Rich Neck" and "Haddaway's Lott"—both parcels from "Grafton Manor."[39] He built the homes "Summerton" and "Winterton," between 1690 and 1710, the former yet standing, well treated by the years, brick, substantial and facing Harris Creek.

His will, the original of which is now at the Hall of Records, was dated November 28, 1727.[40] The final administration, June 2, 1731, reflects "all parties to be of age."[41]

William Lambdin, Jr., born 1700,[42] received "Summerton" under his father's will, but most of his father's land came back into his hands—"William and Mary Addition," at the death of his brother, John, without issue, and "Winterton," he purchased from his brother, Daniel.[43] He served in the Talbot Militia, 1732, 1748 and 1749, in Captain Haddaway's Company. His will, dated January 15, 1753, was probated September 21, 1761.[44]

A chart of the Lambdin family, so far as the present writer has traced it, follows on the next page.

[37] Testamentary Proceedings, 14, 77 and 79, Hall of Records, and old Rent Book 1682-1717, f. 94, Easton.
[38] Talbot Land Record, Liber III, 96, Easton.
[39] Talbot Land Record, Liber III, 153 Easton.
[40] Liber HB 2, 106, Easton. Wills, XIX, 870, Hall of Records. Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, VI, 144.
[41] Adm. Accts. Liber XI, 65 and Liber X, 505, Annapolis.
[42] Talbot Land Commission, 1736-45, 141, Easton.
[43] Talbot Land Record, Liber XIV, 218, Easton.
[44] Wills, 31, 439, Hall of Records, and Balance Book III, 158, Hall of Records.

Robert Lambdin m. 1, before 1671, Mary ————
d. ca. 1685
m. 2, before 1680
Ann or Ane
she m. 2, William Thomas

William Lambdin, Sr. m. before 1694, Mary ————
d. 1727/8
m. 2, after 1721, Sarah
widow of James Auld
and dau. of Edward
Elliott [45]

Daniel Lambdin
b. *ca.* 1694, d. 1750
m. 1, before 1717, Judith Sands,
dau. of Robert Sands, Quaker
m. 2, Jane ————
m. 3, 1741, Elizabeth Haddaway
she m. 2, before 1750 Joseph
Harrison

Daniel

Robert b. Feb. 12, 1726, d. 1775
m. Elizabeth Spry, dau. of
Thomas and Elizabeth
Mary m. William Haddaway
Elizabeth m. Apr. 20, 1750,
Francis Kersey
Sarah m. Col. William Webb
Haddaway

Robert b. Feb. 8, 1728
d. Sept. 24, 1795
Ensign in Bayside Co., Am. Rev.[46]
m. 1, Jan. 6, 1754 Frances Lowe
d. 1788, dau. of John and
Eliz.
m. 2, 1790 Mary Leeds, d. Apr.
10, 1810

William Lambdin, Jr.
1700—1761
m. 1, before 1724, Sarah
gr. dau. of Sarah Hunt of
West River
m. 2, 1740, Catherine Wright-
son, d. 1768, dau of John
and Mary

William, d. before 1762, m. Sarah ————
John, b. Mar. 22, 1742
Daniel, " of age at father's will "
m. 1, 1808, Eliz. Truitt
m. 2, Eliz. Cockey
Thomas, 19 in 1753
Francis, b. 1745 m. 1, ———— Nevill
m. 2, Margaret Haddaway, the
widow Cooper
Wrightson, d. 1812. Mil. list of 1777
Ann, b. *ca.* 1735, d. Oct. 16, 1778,
m. 1758 Capt. James Lowe of Grafton Manor
Sarah " 15 in Aug. last " 1753.

John d. s. p.
George, d. May 12, 1738
Ann, m. 1731, James Roberts
Elizabeth, m. Nov. 12, 1731
Walter Nevill
Sarah m. Feb. 11, 1734, John
Rochester

Bexley John m. Eliz. Blake
George
Mary m. 1748 James Adkinson
Ann m. Robard Phillips
Elizabeth

[45] Liber II, 33, Easton.
[46] *American Archives*, III.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Great National Project. A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. By WALTER S. SANDERLIN. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIV, No. 1.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. 133 pp., including preface, bibliographical note, appendix, and index. $3.00, paper; $3.75, cloth.

Although numerous additions have been made in recent years to the history of inland waterways and to the history of regional transportation, the canal era has remained virtually an untouched facet of American economic life. Few histories of individual canals have been written; none is the product of recent scholarship. Under such circumstances Mr. Sanderlin's present study constitutes not only a useful history of one of Maryland's early transportation facilities but also an important addition to a much neglected field of research.

Lest the antiquarian be misled about the nature and scope of this volume, however, it should be pointed out that the author has prepared an economic rather than a social study. With few exceptions reminiscences have been subordinated to analysis; discourses upon financial problems, tonnage figures, and railroad competition have been given precedence over the traditions of the canallers, the social activities of the canal towns, and the foibles of the politicians and statesmen who presided at various times over the destinies of the enterprise. In sum, Mr. Sanderlin's book exhibits little of the romantic nostalgia that plays so prominent a part in many of the current volumes on the lakes, the rivers, and the swamps of America.

The seriousness of purpose that characterizes this work is thus the source of both its weakness and its strength. With painstaking care the author has surveyed the voluminous correspondence of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and its predecessor, the Potomac Company. He has unearthed numerous legal documents that were filed in the unending cycle of litigation that bedeviled the canal management. He has threaded his way through the tangled maze of company, state, local, and national finance. He has, in fact, revealed in detail the century-long career of the waterway, but in so doing he has stripped it of its glamour. The exposure is disheartening; the picture, one of compounded misfortunes infrequently relieved by incident or anecdote. Certainly the canal must have been a joy to someone!

With Mr. Sanderlin's scholarship there is little cause for complaint. Extensively documented with a wealth of unpublished material, his history

is well-grounded in fact, carefully organized, and scrupulously written. Omissions of fact, where noticeable, can be attributed primarily to the inaccessibility of the files of certain persons and corporations. (The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is a notable example.) If, then, the account does not represent the full story, the fault does not rest with the author alone.

In sum, the present volume is a most welcome addition to the historiography of the canal era. It is to be hoped that Mr. Sanderlin will soon supplement his study with a social history of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal fashioned along more popular lines.

JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR.

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Diary of a Trip from New York to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1845. By NATHANIEL FISH MOORE. Edited by Stanley Pargellis and Ruth Lapham Butler. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 98 pp.

Just over a century ago, in the late summer of 1845, when extensive travel west of the Alleghenies required considerable stamina and fortitude, Nathaniel Fish Moore journeyed from New York City, by rail, coach, and steamer, to the falls of St. Anthony, on the Mississippi River above Fort Snelling, and back, methodically recording his day by day experiences and impressions in this rather commonplace diary.

In their introduction, the editors described Moore, the reluctant president of Columbia College of New York, as a seasoned traveler, " an eastern sightseer pure and simple, an unalloyed tourist concerned with no other profit than his own pleasure and ease of mind," for whom this tour was a brief escape from his distasteful academic duties. Traveling westward by way of Buffalo and the lakes, he returned through St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Wheeling, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. He took particular interest in the development of mineral resources, notably lead, iron, and copper, and purchased a trunk in which to bring back the specimens he collected. Steamboats commanded second place in his attention. Those on which he traveled, as well as others which he observed, are described with care and some indication of knowledge. The remainder of the diary consists of an unimaginative account of persons and places, with now and then a mild expression of approval of a " prettily situated " town or a splendid view. Fellow travellers are appraised but seldom approved. The diarist cultivated those from whom he could learn something, ignored the others. Acknowledging good traveling accommodations when he finds them, he is much more specific and detailed in his descriptions of bad roads, unpalatable food, noisy companions, " moschetoes," and other irritations. His health, which grew progressively worse throughout the journey, probably colored his impressions.

Although presumably pleasure bound, Moore apparently made little more of the trip than an opportunity for gleaning information. It is

therefore somewhat disappointing to find him insensible to the significance of much that he observes. He sees many trees, but the forest, the prelude to the spectacular development of the West, escapes him entirely.

W. Bird Terwilliger

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The First Trading Post at Kicotan (Kecoughtan), Hampton, Virginia. By Joseph B. Brittingham and Alvin W. Brittingham, Sr. Hampton, Va.: The authors, 1947. 23 pp.

America's Williamsburg . . . By Gerald Horton Bath. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1946. 48 pp. 65 cents.

Tenth Maryland House & Garden Pilgrimage [Tour guide]. Baltimore: Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, 1947, 31 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PARKER GENEALOGICAL PRIZE AWARDS

The first award of the Parker Genealogical Prize, under the terms of the endowment of $1,000.00 established early in 1946 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, has been made by the committee of judges. The award was divided equally between Miss Lena S. Townshend, for her genealogy of the Townshend family, and Mr. William N. Wilkins for his account of the Wilkins family. The prizes amounted to $17.50 each.

Seven MSS of varying lengths were submitted. The entrants were: Mrs. Rebecca D. White, "Julien-Julian Family"; Mr. William N. Wilkins, "Wilkins Family and Their Relatives"; Mrs. Augusta Dixon Clarendon, "Knight Family"; Mrs. Ruth V. Cushman"; Justice-Umstead Family of Frederick County"; Mr. Robert M. Torrence," Grear-Greer-Greere-Grier Family"; Mr. Beale Howard Richardson IV, "Richardson and Related Families"; and Miss Lena G. Townshend, "Townshend Family."

The judges were Mr. William B. Marye, Chairman; Mrs. Thomas S. George and Mr. James W. Foster, Director of the Society. The judges found that the winners had made major investigations of the respective lineages. Each submitted two volumes of clear, well organized and well typed material. It was found that the work had been accurately done in both cases. These two works were considered of broad, general usefulness in a library of Maryland genealogy.

All the entries in the contest will be filed for general use of members and other persons who are interested.

The second annual award of the Parker Prize will be made in the spring of 1948. Contestants should have their MS completed and delivered to the Maryland Historical Society on or before December 31, 1947.

LIBERIAN CENTENNIAL

On July 26, 1947, the Republic of Liberia will celebrate its one hundredth anniversary of independence. This little country—founded, organized and ruled by American Negroes—has a constitution and government similar to that of the United States. The first emigrants sailed from New York in 1820 under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, and succeeding vessels carried numbers of additional colonists. The capital

city, Monrovia, was so designated in 1824 in honor of President James Monroe.

The southern part of the land, centering around Cape Palmas, was originally called Maryland in Liberia, and was established and administered by the Maryland State Colonization Society with headquarters in Baltimore. The Maryland Historical Society has in its library the entire group of Maryland State Colonization Society Papers, including voluminous correspondence dealing with the early years of the settlement, early draft of the constitution, drawn by J. H. B. Latrobe and financial accounts of the colony. This collection was described in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September, 1937.

The northern and southern sections of Liberia were united in 1847, with a Virginia Negro, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, as the first president. It is this centennial which will be observed during 1947-49, and a feature of the celebration will be a Victory Exposition on the bank of the Mesuredo River in Monrovia. The Centennial Commission has opened an office at 1927-11th Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C. where full information may be obtained.

Lincoln Papers—The Abraham Lincoln Association, First National Bank Building, Springfield, Illinois, solicits information concerning the present private ownership and location of any document composed by Abraham Lincoln, whether or not it has been published hitherto. Documents in public institutions are readily accessible, but many of those held by individuals have not been located to date. The preparation of a complete edition of Lincoln's writings from original sources will be greatly facilitated by information leading to procurement of photostatic copies of documents held by private individuals. Acknowledgment of assistance will be fully made upon publication.

Reynolds—Does anyone know of a record of the Reynolds children of Sara Maccubin, daughter of John and Eleanor (Carroll) Maccubin, who married 1st William Griffith, and 2nd, Thomas Reynolds, high Sheriff of Anne Arundel County? Sara may have been a sister of James Maccubin, who took the name of Carroll when he became the heir of Charles Carroll, barrister, since her mother, Eleanor Carroll Maccubin who married 2nd John Howard, Senior, is said to have been of the barrister's family. Was William Reynolds, vestryman of St. Anne's, Annapolis, and owner of the property now the Annapolis Library, who married Deborah Harper, widow of John Syng, goldsmith, the son of Thomas Reynolds by this, or a former marriage?

Mrs. O. L. Imhof
731 Bellaire Ave., Pittsburgh 26, Pa.

Ringgold—Information is wanted on Thomas W. Ringgold, who at one time was associated with President Zachary Taylor in planting interests in Mississippi. Data on the parents, education, personal appearance, and later life of Ringgold will be appreciated by a Taylor biographer. A copy of Ringgold's portrait, and any letters from Taylor to Ringgold or from Ringgold to Taylor, will prove especially useful. Good care will be taken of original materials.

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Tilghman—Tillman Data.—Mr. Stephen F. Tillman, author of the book on Tilghmans and Tillmans which was published last year, asks that readers who possess information not given in that volume will send in such data in order that he may include it in a typed supplement, a copy of which will be presented to the Society's library, Mr. Tillman's address is 3000 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 8, D. C.

CONTRIBUTORS

The paper on Tench Tilghman was prepared by Mr. BAST while a graduate student at the University of Virginia. A native of Talbot County, the author is now assistant professor of history at Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia. ☆ LOUIS DOW SCISCO has been a frequent contributor to the Magazine and was associate editor of certain volumes of the *Archives of Maryland*. ☆ Assistant professor at the University of Maryland, Dr. CUNZ has devoted himself for several years to the study of German immigration into Maryland. He will soon bring out a book on this subject. ☆ Prominent for many years in Civil Service Reform and a conspicuous member of the Baltimore Bar, WALTER H. BUCK has long been interested in local and regional history. ☆ ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE, of the Peabody Institute staff, was lately curator of the Society's galleries. Her study of the Society's place in the art life of old Maryland is a timely one. ☆ For several years Mr. ROBERTS, a business man of Pittsburgh, has sent occasional articles about early settlers in Talbot County, from several of which he traces his own descent.

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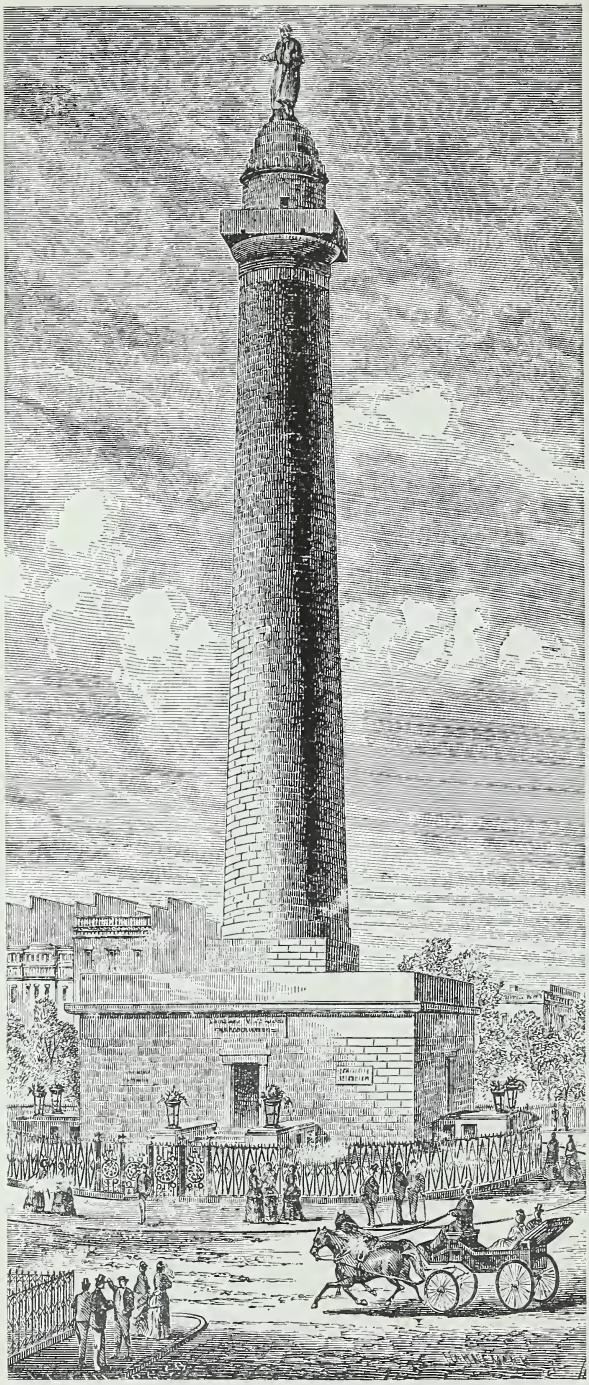

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Annual Subscription to the Magazine $3.00. Each issue 75c. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages. James W. Foster, Editor.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, and of the *Archives of Maryland* by direction of the State.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sundays, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4.

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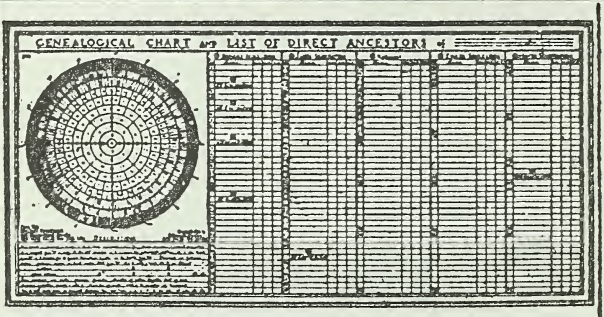

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLII SEPTEMBER, 1947 Number 3

MARYLAND AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

By Robert McElroy

DANIEL WEBSTER once said: "I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." [1]

That Ordinance stemmed directly from one far-sighted action of Maryland which, as early as October, 1776, began planning to bring about a cession to the Union of state claims to the "territory northwest of the River Ohio," the territory for which the Ordinance of 1787 was subsequently written. The circumstances were as follows:

The war for American Independence was fought by a loose military alliance of thirteen self-governing colonies, mutually suspicious, and at times actually hostile to one another. While the

[1] *Works* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1853), III, 263.

menace of a powerful military antagonist was present, these colonies acted together through an improvised Continental Congress, and with a fair degree of voluntary cooperation.

As soon, however, as the victory over that military antagonist, England, was virtually won, by a combination of colonial union and foreign alliances, the colonists decided to form a " perpetual union " by means of a legal Confederation to be effected by the unanimous ratification of thirteen articles. It was to be a union of thirteen Sovereign States, each state retaining its " sovereignty, freedom, and independence," to quote the words of the Second Article.

Maryland's signature was therefore necessary before the "perpetual union " could come into legal existence. However, in November, 1776, Maryland's State Convention had resolved, " that the back lands, claimed by the British Crown, if secured by the blood and treasure of all, ought in reason, justice and policy, to be considered a common stock, to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient and independent governments." [2] There was in that resolution a definite hint for the establishment of a national domain: but it meant little as England still held as well as claimed the territory referred to.

On October 15, 1777, one month before the Articles of Confederation were proposed to the legislatures for ratification, it was moved in Congress, by a Maryland delegate, " that the United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and fix the western boundary of such states as claim to the Mississippi or South Sea, and lay out the land beyond the boundary, so ascertained, into separate states." [3]

This was a step nearer to the policy later announced by the Ordinance of 1787; but England still held the northwest territory. Before the resolution could have any practical value, it was necessary to seize the territory, which George Rogers Clark soon did, in the name of Virginia, and then to persuade Virginia, and three other states with conflicting claims to it, to cede their claims to the Union of States.

Two of Maryland's three delegates in Congress voted for the

[2] Quoted in Matthew Page Andrew's *Tercentenary History of Maryland,* (Chicago-Baltimore: Clark Publishing Co., 1925, I. 599).
[3] Text, *Journals of Congress*, IX (1777), 807.

resolution, namely Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase. The third, William Smith, voted against it. Thus it seems quite certain that the author of the resolution was either Charles Carroll or Samuel Chase, but is seems impossible to determine from the available records which of the two deserves the credit.[4] And that credit is great: for this resolution was the first move ever made in Congress for securing the northwest territory as a national domain,[5] and definitely suggests the policy later developed in the Ordinance of 1787, namely that of employing colonies to train for self-governing states.

In November, 1777, the Old Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation and sent them to the thirteen states for ratification.[6]

Under December 3, 1777, the *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate* of Maryland record "a letter from the president of Congress to the Governor, and Articles of Confederation and Union between the United States, agreed to by Congress and addressed to the several legislatures for their ratification [. . .] were read, and referred to the consideration of the house of delegates, and sent by Charles Carrol, of Carrollton, Esq."

Maryland, like all the "sovereign states," was free to adhere to the proposed union or to decline to adhere. She had therefore the power to compel the cession of the northwest territory as the price of union, for it was understood that thirteen states must sign the Articles of Confederation before they could become operative.

By July, 1778, all states save New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland had signed the Articles of Confederation. New Jersey signed in November, 1778, and Delaware in May, 1779.[7] Thus, twelve of the thirteen states had approved the proposed union by May, 1779. Maryland, however, had now declared, through her legislature, that she would never adhere unless the states with claims to the vast wilderness territory northwest of the Ohio river, should first cede such claims to the proposed United

[4] The vote is recorded in the *Journals of Congress*, IX (1777), 808. The names of the delegates from Maryland are given on p. 131 of the *Journals*, Vol. VII.

[5] Herbert B. Adams, *Maryland's Influence in Founding a National Commonwealth*. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society (1877), p. 27.

[6] A. C. McLaughlin, *A Constitutional History of the United States* (N. Y.: Appleton-Century Co., 1936), p. 118; John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1889), p. 93.

[7] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 599.

States of America. Her instructions to her delegates in Congress contained these words: [8]

. . . policy and justice require, that a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen states, should be considered as common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct. Thus convinced, we should betray the trust reposed in us by our constituents, were we to authorize you to ratify on their behalf the Confederation, unless it be further explained. We have cooly and dispassionately considered the subject; we have weighed probable inconveniences and hardships against the sacrifice of just and essential rights; and do instruct you not to agree to the Confederation, unless an article be added thereto in conformity with our declaration; should we succeed in obtaining such article or articles, then you are hereby fully empowered to accede to the Confederation.

Maryland thus stood alone in making the cession of confused claims to " the northwest territory " a condition precedent to the formation of the United States of America. She was of course denounced as selfish: but her legislature viewed her course rather as for the good of all. In "*A Declaration,*" issued by the State under date, December 15, 1778,[9] she argued thus:

The exclusive claim set up by some states to the whole western country, by extending their limits to the Mississippi or South Sea, is in our judgment without any solid foundation, and we religiously believe will, if submitted to, prove ruinous to this State, and to other states similarly circumstanced, and in process of time be the means of subverting the Confederation, if it be not explained by the additional article or articles proposed.

It was soon clear to the members of the Old Congress that the only way to secure the coveted " perpetual union " of the thirteen states was to yield to Maryland's demand; for they could not break her veto which was clearly within her legal rights.

Early in 1780 New York decided to yield and instructed her

[8] Instructions of the General Assembly of Maryland, to George Plater, William Paca, William Carmichael, John Henry, James Forbes, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Esquires; in *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland,* 1777-1781 The extract is on p. 31 of the first session of the Assembly, the October Session, 1778.

[9] *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland,* October Session, 1778, p. 30.

delegates in the Old Congress to cede her shadowy claim to the United States,[10] in order to remove the sole obstacle to the formation of a "perpetual union" of the thirteen states.

This gave hope, and on October 10, 1780, Congress increased that hope by offering to re-imburse any state for reasonable expense incurred by it in defending "the northwest." Virginia by that time had spent vast sums upon George Rogers Clark's expedition, during 1778 and 1779, which had actually wrested the territory from British control.

Connecticut now offered to cede her claims, provided she should retain jurisdiction.[11] Virginia then offered to cede her claims upon certain specific conditions.[12]

The Maryland delegation now decided that the terms specified in the instructions already quoted had been almost met. They felt definitely assured that the northwest would become the common property of the United States. They concluded, properly as events soon proved, that all states would soon follow New York's and Virginia's examples and yield their claims to the Union.

Therefore, on March 1, 1781, Maryland's delegates, John Hanson and Daniel Carroll II signed the Articles of Confederation, on behalf of Maryland, thus completing the League of Friendship and Perpetual Union. The next day, March 2, 1781, the new Congress was convened, and the history of the United States officially began. On November 5, 1781, John Hanson became the first *President of the United States,* a title given to the Presidents of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation.[13]

What might have happened, had Maryland not single handedly forced the cession of confused claims by individual states to "the northwest" would be only speculation. What did happen as a result of that action is history. The territory thus ceded was vast in extent, some 170 million acres. It was then practically unbroken wilderness stretching north and west of the Ohio River. It is now (1947) known as the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and parts of Michigan and Wisconsin. The Old Congress, through the Ordinance of 1787, promised that these ceded lands, called

[10] February 19, 1780. [11] October 10, 1780. [12] January 2, 1781.

[13] A list of the Presidents of the Continental Congress appears on p. 360 of John Fiske's *Critical Period.* John Hanson signed his name "John Hanson, President," *e. g.*, J. Bruce Kremer, *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove* (N. Y., Albert & Charles Boni, Inc., 1938), p. 168.

in the Ordinance "the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio," should be temporarily governed by officials appointed by the new Congress, that to be established under the Constitution of 1787, and so governed as to prepare its settlers for complete self-government. It further promised that when any section of the ceded lands, so organized, "shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants," it "shall be admitted . . . into Congress . . . on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatsoever."

Since that Ordinance was ordained by the Old Congress, on July 13, 1787, it has furnished the machinery through which territories have been transformed into states, each equal to the older states in all respects. The ninth act of the First Congress under the Federal Constitution which began to operate in 1789, was a re-enactment of the Ordinance of 1787, and every Congress, so long as territories existed within the consolidated area of the United States, has made use of it. By means of its machinery, practically all the territories within the consolidated area of the United States have been converted into states, and it has operated with such precision that few Americans are conscious of the fact that the United States has become one of the world's most successful nations in the government of territorial possessions.

Meanwhile, England had adopted the idea, and had begun a similar process of converting owned colonies into self-governing dominions. The Imperial Conference report of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster of 1931 represent the apotheosis of that process, declaring dominions so formed equal in all respects to all other British Dominions, and to the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

Human achievements are always personal, because only a human personality has mind, conscience and will. It is therefore necessary to associate great events with individuals.

But human achievements are generally connected also with particular places. It is therefore natural to associate them with places.

One purpose of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities is to find the persons and the places with which her great events are associated, and to perpetuate their memory. Would it not be wise to consider Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase, the men who first introduced the idea into Congress, and

John Hanson and Daniel Carroll II, who recorded success by signing the Articles of Confederation for Maryland, as suitable figures to serve as symbols of these two great events, the acquisition of the Northwest Territory, and the Ordinance of 1787? Their homes, if still standing, or other sites with which their lives were intimately associated, would be suitable places to be marked by the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities as perpetual reminders of Maryland's great service to the Union of the States in forcing it to establish a national domain.

Massachusetts has made an effective national hero of Paul Revere, one of many minute men who prefaced the war for Independence. Virginia has done the nation a great service by preserving the home of Thomas Jefferson, one of a Committee of five patriots who drafted the Declaration of Independence. Maryland, if she wishes, may profit be their example.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES FROM THE "MARYLAND GAZETTE," 1800-1810

Contributed by GEORGE A. MARTIN

Some years ago the *Magazine* printed several installments of notices of marriages and deaths gleaned by the late Dr. Christopher Johnston from the files of the *Maryland Gazette,* of Annapolis, for the years 1728 through 1800. The four articles appeared in Vols. XVII, p. 364 and XVIII, p. 37, 150 and 273 (Dec., 1922-Sept., 1923) of this *Magazine.* The following continuation of such notices has been culled from later issues of the *Gazette.* Occasional items of general interest, not concerning Maryland, have been included. Vague generalizations and pious expressions have been omitted in a few instances. Otherwise the notices appear as printed.—EDITOR.

1801

DULANY, MRS. MARY—Died lately, in this city, Mrs. Mary Dulany, relict of the late Hon. Walter Dulany, formerly of this place. (Sept. 17).

1802

WASHINGTON, MARTHA—Departed this life at Mount Vernon on Saturday [May 22] Martha Washington, consort of General George Washington. (May 27).

1803

CALLAHAN, JOHN—On Saturday evening last [Oct. 26] departed this life, in the 50th year of his age, John Callahan, Esq., Register of the Land Office for the Western Shore of Maryland. (Oct. 27).

QUYNN, ALLEN—Died on Tuesday morning [Nov. 8] in the 77th year of his age, Allen Quynn, Esq., long a resident of this city, and for 25 years a member of the House of Delegates of this State. (Nov. 10).

THOMAS, PHILIP W.—Married on Thursday last, [Nov. 10] at

West River, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Mr. Philip W. Thomas, to Miss Julia Chisholm, both of this county. (Nov. 17).

THOMPSON, HENRY—Married on Sunday last [Nov. 13] at Baltimore, Mr. Henry Thompson, of this city, to Miss Mary West, of that place. (Nov. 17).

WOOD, PETER—Died yesterday morning [Dec. 7] Peter Wood, Esq., one of the Delegates for Prince George's County. (Dec. 8).

1804

JONES, MAJOR-GENERAL SAMUEL—Died on the 15th ult. [Jan. 15] in Port Tobacco, in the 49th year of his age, Major-General Samuel Jones, a member of the General Assembly of Maryland, for Charles County. General Jones, at an early period of his life, entered into the army at the commencement of the American struggle for liberty, and served as an officer till very near the end of the war, when imperious circumstances forced him to retire. He has for sometime passed held the commission of Major-General in the Militia of the State, and for the last four years has been a member of the House of Delegates. (Feb. 2).

BARNES, COL. RICHARD—Died on Sunday, the 29th of April, Col. Richard Barnes, of St. Mary's Co., Md. His will declares all his negroes, amounting to between three and four hundred, free three years after his death, provided they behave themselves well. (May 10).

M'GILL, ROBERT—Married on Thursday evening [May 21] by the Rev. Mr. Lane, Mr. Robert M'Gill, of Prince George's Co., to Miss Helen Stockett, of South River. (June 28).

SELLMAN, LEONARD—Married on Sunday evening last [June 24] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Leonard Sellman, Esq., to Miss Mary Rankin. (June 28).

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER—On Saturday last, the remains of Alexander Hamilton were committed to the grave with every possible testimony of respect and sorrow. (July 19).

DAVID, DAVIDSON—Died on the 26th ult. [July] at Elkton, Davidson David, Esq., one of the Council of this State. (Aug. 2).

SIMMONS, WILLIAM—Married on Sunday, the 23rd [Sept.] near Herring Creek, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Mr. William Simmons, to Miss Matilda Tillard, daughter of Major Thomas Tillard. (Oct. 4).

ANDERSON, JAMES, SR.—Died on the morning of the first inst. [Oct.] James Anderson, Senior, an old resident of this county, in the 79th year of his age. (Oct. 4).

STONE, GENERAL JOHN HOSKINS—On Friday last, [Oct. 5] departed this life, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, General John Hoskins Stone. Early in life, and at an early period of the American Revolution, he appeared in the great theatre of action that then opened, as a Captain in the celebrated regiment of Smallwood, and highly distinguished himself at the battles of Long Island, White Plains, and Princeton. At the battle of Germantown, he received a wound that deprived him of bodily activity for the remainder of life. In this situation the powers of his mind did not remain inactive; they were steadily and diligently exercised in the same cause for which he had fought and bled, and as a representative of his native county of Charles, and as a member of the Executive Council, he continued to serve his country until he was promoted to the highest station reserved by our constitution for Maryland. In 1794 he was elected Governor of Maryland. (Oct. 11).

BROWN, DOCTOR GUSTAVUS RICHARD—Departed this life on the 27th of September last, at his seat in Charles Co., near Port Tobacco, in the 68th year of his age, Doctor Gustavus Richard Brown. (Oct. 18).

PINKNEY, JONATHAN—Married on Sunday evening last [Oct. 28] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Mr. Jonathan Pinkney, of Baltimore, to Mrs. Rebecca Davidson, of this city. (Nov. 1).

TAYLOR, GAMALIEL—Married on Sunday evening last [Oct. 28] by the Rev. Mr. Williston, Mr. Gamaliel Taylor, to Miss Euphen Bruce, both of this city. (Nov. 8).

WILLIAMSON, JAMES—Married on Thursday evening last, [Dec. 20] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Mr. James Williamson, to Miss Maria Tuck, both of this city. (Dec. 27).

GHISELIN, DR. REVERDY—Married on Tuesday evening [Dec. 25]

by the Rev. Mr. Duke, Dr. Reverdy Ghiselin, one of the honourable council of this State, to Miss Margaret Bowie, daughter of his Excellency, the Governor. (Dec. 27).

1805

BICKNELL, THOMAS—Married on Sunday last, [Jan. 20] by the Rev. Mr. Ridgely, Thomas Bicknell, to Mrs. Julia Clarke, both of this city. (Jan. 24).

RICE, PETER—Died yesterday morning [Jan. 30] at the house of Mr. Lloyd M. Lowe, in this city, Peter Rice, one of the members of the House of Delegates, from Caroline Co. (Jan. 31).

HARWOOD, HENRY HALL—Married on Thursday evening last, [Feb. 14] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Henry Hall Harwood Esq., to the amiable Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, both of this city. (Feb. 21).

DEALE, CAPTAIN JAMES—Married on Sunday last [Feb. 17] at West River, by Rev. Mr. Compton, Captain James Deale, to Miss Mary Franklin. (Feb. 21).

KEITH, MRS. ANNE—Died on Monday morning last [Feb. 18] in an advanced age, Mrs. Anne Keith. (Feb. 21).

BAYLY, MRS. LEAH—Died at Cambridge, on Monday, the 4th, Mrs. Leah Bayly, consort of Josiah Bayly. (Feb. 21).

WHEELER, THOMAS—Married on Saturday evening last [Feb. 23] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Thomas Wheeler, to Miss Anne Hutton. (Feb. 28).

RIGBY, JAMES—Married on Thursday evening last [April 18] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, James Rigby, to Miss Anne Johnson. (April 25).

DUCKETT, JOHN B.—Died on April 10, in Prince George's Co., John B. Duckett, Clerk of the House of Delegates of this State. (April 25).

MIDDLETON, WILLIAM—Died on April 12 at his residence on Pool's Island, William Middleton, in the 19th year of his age. (April 25).

TILDEN, MRS. LOUISA HARVEY—Died at Baltimore, on Sunday evening last [April 28] Mrs. Louisa Harvey Tilden, wife of Doctor Tilden, of Kent Co., Md., and third daughter of Samuel Harvey Howard, of this city. (May 2).

BRYCE, JOHN R.—Died on Saturday morning last [May 4] in the 34th year of his age, John R. Bryce, of this city. (May 9).

CLEMENTS, MISS ELIZABETH—Died on Thursday night last [May 30], Miss Elizabeth Clements, of this city. (June 6).

MURRAY, JOHN—Died at Glasgow, in March last, John Murray, Consul of the United States. (June 6).

BEDFORD, WILLIAM TURNER—Married on Sunday evening last [June 9] by the Rev. Mr. Duke, William Turner Bedford, of Baltimore, to Miss Julia Wisham, of this city. (June 13).

CARR, BENJAMIN—Married on Sunday, the 16th inst., near Herring Creek Church, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Benjamin Carr, of Pig Point, to Miss Kitty Welch, of Portland Manor. (June 27).

HANSON, ALEXANDER C., JR.—Married on Monday evening last [June 25] in this city, by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Alexander C. Hanson, Jun., to Miss Priscilla Dorsey. (June 27).

FORREST, GENERAL URIAH—Died on Saturday [July 6] at his seat near Georgetown, General Uriah Forrest. On the next day his remains were deposited in the Protestant Episcopal Burying Ground of that place. He embarked in early life in the Revolutionary War, and served with distinction until the Battle of Germantown, in which he sacrificed more than a limb to his country. Fated ever after to support himself upon crutches, and to be a prey to the evils of impaired health, his active and intelligent mind rose superior to misfortune, and his life has been equally distinguished by honourable and useful enterprise. (July 18).

LATIMER, RANDOLPH B.—Died at his plantation in Charles County, on Monday evening [July 8], Randolph B. Latimer. (July 18).

STONE, ROBERT COULDEN—Married on Tuesday evening last [July 23] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Robert Coulden Stone, to Miss Mary Mann, both of this city. (July 25).

RINGGOLD, MISS MARY—Died in this city, on Sunday morning last [Aug. 11] Miss Mary Ringgold, of Washington Co. (Aug. 15).

WILMER, JONATHAN—Departed this life at Baltimore on Tuesday [Aug. 22] Jonathan Wilmer, a native of this State. He had

returned a few weeks since from Charleston, S. C., for his health. (Aug. 29).

WILLIAMSON, MRS. MARIA—Died on Monday last [Oct. 14] Mrs. Maria Williamson, of this city. (Oct. 17).

DAVIS, MRS. SARAH—Died on Saturday morning last [Oct. 19] in the 86th year of her age, Mrs. Sarah Davis, of South River. (Oct. 24).

GASSAWAY, MRS.—Departed this life, Mrs. Gassaway, of Elk-Ridge. (Oct. 31).

MARRIOTT, MR. RICHARD—Died on Monday last [Oct. 28] Mr. Richard Marriott, an inhabitant of this county. (Oct. 31).

GARDINER, JOHN M.—Married on Friday evening last [Nov. 1] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, John M. Gardiner, of the U. S. Navy, to Miss Sophia Gassaway, of this city. (Nov. 7).

MAGRUDER, ALEXANDER C.—Married on Tuesday, Nov. 14, at Frederick-town, by the Rev. George Bower, Alexander C. Magruder, of this city, to Miss Rebecca Thomas, daughter of Dr. Philip Thomas, of that place. (Nov. 28).

CRAGGS, JOHN—Died on Wednesday [Nov. 20] at Hammond's Ferry, John Craggs, in the 68th year of his age. (Nov. 28).

RIDGELY, CHARLES—Died on Monday last [Nov. 25] in this city, Charles Ridgely, in the 75th year of his age. (Nov. 28).

1806

WEEMS, JOHN B.—Married on Sunday last [Jan. 5] at South River, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, John B. Weems, to Miss Priscilla Harwood, daughter of Col. Richard Harwood. (Jan. 9).

SEWELL, BENJAMIN—Married on Sunday [Jan. 5] in this city, by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Benjamin Sewell, to Miss Hester Nicholson. (Jan. 16).

TANEY, ROGER B.—Married on Tuesday evening [Jan. 7] at Fredericktown, by the Rev. Mr. Zoochey, Roger B. Taney, to Miss Anne P. C. Key. (Jan. 16).

HANSON, ALEXANDER CONTEE—Died in this city, on Jan. 16, in the 56th year of his age, Alexander Contee Hanson, Chancellor of this State. (Jan. 23).

MAYNARD, JAMES PELHAM—Married on Sunday last [Jan. 26] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, James Pelham Maynard, to Miss Julia Owen, both of this city. (Jan. 30).

BRICE, MRS. MARY—Departed this life in Baltimore on Jan. 30, in the 57th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Brice, consort of John Brice of this city. (Feb. 13).

HOLLAND, JAMES—Married on Sunday evening last [Feb. 16] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, James Holland, to Miss Anne Sands, both of this city. (Feb. 20).

MERRIKEN, ROBERT—Married on Tuesday last [Feb. 18] by the Rev. Mr. Fleming, Robert Merriken, to Miss Sarah Welsh, both of Severn. (Feb. 20).

SPRIGG, RICHARD—Died on the 20th March, at Charleston, S. C., where he had gone for his health, in the 37th year of his age, Richard Sprigg, Chief Justice of the First Judicial District of this State, and late a Judge of the General Court. (March 27).

THOMPSON, JOHN—Married on Sunday [April 6] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, John Thompson, to Miss Eleanor Johnson. (April 10).

HAGNER, PETER—Married on Tuesday [April 22] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Peter Hagner, of the City of Washington, to Miss Frances Randall, of this city. (April 24).

SHIPPEN, EDWARD—Died in Philadelphia on April 15, Edward Shippen, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the 78th year of his age. (April 24).

PINKNEY, NINIAN—Married in this city on Thursday [May 1] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Ninian Pinkney, to Mrs. Amelia Hobbs. (May 8).

PATTERSON, ROBERT—Married on May 1 by the Rev. Bishop Carroll, Robert Patterson, to Miss Mary Caton. (May 8).

BURGESS, ENOCH MAGRUDER—Married on Sunday [May 4], near Pig Point, Enoch Magruder Burgess, merchant, of that place, to Miss Sarah Lock Chew Smith. (May 8).

JOHNSON, ELISHA—Married on Sunday [May 25] by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Elisha Johnson, to Miss Anne Mills, all of Herring Creek. (May 29).

DRURY, HENRY C.—Married on May 27 by the Rev. Mr. Comp-

ton, Henry C. Drury, to Miss Eliza Mills, all of Herring Creek. (May 29).

HARWOOD, COL. RICHARD—Married on Sunday [June 1] by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Col. Richard Harwood, to Mrs. Lucinda Battee, all of Anne Arundel County. (June 5).

RICHARDS, CLEMENT—Married on June 1 by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Clement Richards, to Miss Sarah Turner. (June 5).

HANSON, MRS. REBECCA—Died on Saturday [June 21] in the 47th year of her age, Mrs. Rebecca Hanson, relict of A. C. Hanson, late Chancellor of this State. (June 26).

SHAW, MRS. MARGARET—Died on July 5, Mrs. Margaret Shaw, in the 48th year of her age. (July 10).

JAMES, SAMUEL—Died on Monday [July 7] Mr. Samuel James, of South River. (July 10).

BARBER, CHARLES—Died on Tuesday [July 22] Charles Barber, an inhabitant of this city. (July 24).

WATKINS, NICHOLAS J.—Married on Sunday [Aug. 24] at Broad Neck, on Severn, by Rev. Mr. Welch, Nicholas J. Watkins, to Miss Margaret Todd. (Aug. 28).

DENNIS, JOHN—Died in Philadelphia, on Sunday, Aug. 17, John Dennis, of Somerset County, Md., in the 35th year of his age, who for several years was a Representative in the Congress of the United States. (Aug. 28).

QUYNN, JOHN—Married at Baltimore on Aug. 26, by the Rev. Mr. Bend, John Quynn, of this city, to Miss Maria Leakin, of Baltimore. (Sept. 4).

WARREN, WILLIAM—Married on Thursday last, Aug. 28, by the Rev. Dr. Rattoone, William Warren, to Mrs. Ann Wignell, both of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Theatres. (Sept. 4).

STEWART, RICHARD—Died on Sept. 7, Mr. Richard Stewart, of South River. (Sept. 18).

THOMAS, PHILIP W.—Married on Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Philip W. Thomas to Miss Rebecca Waters, of Anne Arundel Co. (Sept. 25).

DUCKETT, THOMAS—Died on Tuesday [Dec. 2] Thomas Duckett, one of the Senate of this place. (Dec. 4).

1807

WILLIAMSON, CAPTAIN CHARLES—Died in Calvert Co., on Jan. 23, Captain Charles Williamson, in the 59th year of his age. (Jan. 29).

DAVIDSON, GENERAL JOHN—Died in Baltimore on Monday [Feb. 2] General John Davidson, an old inhabitant of this city. His remains were brought here and interred with military honors. (Feb. 5).

WOODWARD, WILLIAM—Died on Feb. 5, at his farm in Anne Arundel Co., Mr. William Woodward, Sen., in the 68th year of his age. (Feb. 12).

SHAW, DR. JOHN—Married on Thursday [Feb. 12] by the Rev. Mr. Gibson, Dr. John Shaw, to Miss Jane Selby. (Feb. 19).

KEMP, JOSEPH—Married on Sunday [Feb. 15] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Joseph Kemp, to Miss Frances Richards. (Feb. 19).

GWINN, JOHN, JR.—Died at Fell's Point, Baltimore, on Feb. 11, John Gwinn, Jun., of this city, in the 51st year of his age, leaving a wife and six children. (Feb. 19).

GEDDES, CAPTAIN DAVID—Died on Friday [March 6] at Baltimore, Capt. David Geddes, an old inhabitant of Fell's Point. (March 12).

DUVALL, WILLIAM—Married on Sunday [March 15] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, William Duvall, to Miss Anne Tucker. (March 19).

DUVALL, EPHRAIM—Died on Saturday night [March 27] in the 65th year of his age, Ephraim Duvall, of Greenberry's Point. (April 2).

HAMMOND, WILLIAM—Died on Tuesday morning [April 30] last, in the 47th year of his age, William Hammond, of this city. (April 2).

DREW, MISS KITTY—Killed recently, Miss Kitty Drew, of Queen Anne's County, Md., having been thrown from her carriage. (April 9).

BICKNELL, ESAU—Married on Wednesday, the 8th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bower, Mr. Esau Bicknell, aged 60, to Miss Susanna Rodgers, aged 16, both of Washington County, Md. (April 16).

HOWARD, SAMUEL HARVEY—Died on Friday morning last [April 24] in the 57th year of his age, Samuel Harvey Howard, Esq., Register of the Court of Chancery of the State of Maryland. (April 30).

BOTLER, J. W.—Married at Philadelphia, on Wednesday evening, the 20th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Janeway, Mr. J. W. Botler, Pastor, of Baltimore, to Miss Margaret T. Elliott, of Philadelphia. (May 28).

REED, MISS FRANCES—Died in this city, on Friday night last [May 22] Miss Frances Reed, of Frederick County. (May 28).

DAW, SAMUEL—Married on Thursday evening last [May 28] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Samuel Daw, to Miss Elizabeth Earl, all of this city. (June 4).

WRIGHT, CAPTAIN JAMES—Married on Tuesday evening last [June 9] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Captain James Wright, of Baltimore, to Miss Anne F. Wier, of this city. (June 11).

FERGUSON, REV. COLIN—Departed this life the 10th ult., in the 53rd year of his age, at his farm in Kent County, the place of his nativity, the Rev. Colin Ferguson, D. D. late principal of Washington College. This accomplished teacher, who has so successfully explored the different regions of science, received the rudiments of his education at the University of Edinburgh, and has employed his talents for more than 30 years in the instruction of youth in his native country. The various branches of philosophy and natural history were familiar to him, and as a linguist he has seldom been equalled, having acquired a competent knowledge of the English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Erie languages. With a fancy to be captivated at the poet's song, he united an energy of intellect to solve the sublimest and most abstruse proposition in geometry. His amiable disposition in school won him the respect and affection of his pupils. He has left a widow and two children. (June 11).

FORD, PHILIP—Died on the 12th inst., in the 59th year of his age, Philip Ford, Esq., in St. Mary's County. (June 25).

WILMOT, JOHN—Died on Monday evening last [June 22] in the 54th year of his age, John Wilmot, of this city. (June 25).

SANDS, JOHN—Died, this morning [July 2] in the 45th year of his age, Mr. John Sands, of this city. (July 2).

HUGHES, JEREMIAH—Married on Thursday last [July 9] at South River, by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, Mr. Jeremiah Hughes, to the amiable Miss Priscilla Jacob. ((July 16).

BLACKBURN, COL. THOMAS—Died on the 17th inst., at Rippon Lodge, his seat in Virginia, Col. Thomas Blackburn, an old Revolutionary Patriot. (July 30).

KILTY, MRS. ELIZABETH—Departed this life on Wednesday the 21st inst., Mrs. Elizabeth Kilty, consort of William Kilty, Esq., Chancellor of Maryland. (Oct. 29).

DAVIDSON, JAMES, JR.—Married at Baltimore on Thursday evening last [Nov. 5] at Daniel Delozier's Esq., by the Rev. Mr. Bend, James Davidson, Jr., Esq., of Washington City, to Miss Mary Higinbothom, of Baltimore. (Nov. 12).

SMITH, CLEMENT—Married at Baltimore, on Thursday evening [Nov. 12] by the Rev. Dr. Whitehead, Clement Smith, merchant, (Georgetown Potowmack) to Miss Margaretta Clare Brice, daughter of John Brice, Esq., of that city. (Nov. 19).

BOWLEY, DANIEL—Departed this life on Thursday, the 19th inst., Daniel Bowley, Esq., of Furley. (Nov. 19).

HIGGINS, RICHARD—Departed this life on Tuesday morning last [Nov. 17] in the 63rd year of his age, Mr. Richard Higgins, an inhabitant of this county. ((Nov. 19).

MIDDLETON, WILLIAM—Died at St. Jago de Cuba, Oct. 14, William Middleton, first officer of the schooner Linnett, of Baltimore. (Dec. 10).

TILGHMAN, JOHN—Married on Tuesday evening last [Dec. 22] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. John Tilghman, of Talbot County, to the amiable and truly engaging Miss Maria Gibson, daughter of John Gibson, Esq., of this city. (Dec. 24).

GALE, JOHN—Departed this life on the 28th inst., John Gale, Esq., in the 47th year of his age. Mr. Gale was a delegate from Kent County, and was in the discharge of the important duties of legislation. (Dec. 31).

1808

WELLS, MRS. SUSAN—Departed this life on Thursday the 4th inst., Mrs. Susan Wells, consort of William Wells, merchant, of this city, in the 48th year of her age. (Feb. 11).

HANLON, DAVID—Married on Sunday evening last [Feb. 27] at Hacket's Point, by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Mr. David Hanlon, of this city, to Miss Harriet Moss, daughter of James Moss, of that place. (March 3).

LA FAYETTE, MADAM—Died at Paris, on Dec. 24, 1807, last Madam LaFayette. (March 3).

RINGGOLD, JAMES—Married on Monday evening last [April 4] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. James Ringgold, of Kent Island, to Miss Elizabeth Slemaker, of this city. (April 7).

CHRISTIE, GABRIEL—Died at Baltimore, on Friday morning last, [April 1] in the 51st year of his age, Gabriel Christie, Esq., Collector of that port. (April 7).

HARRIS, ISAAC—Died in this city on Monday last [April 4] in the 78th year of his age, Mr. Isaac Harris. (April 7).

MAYNARD, SAMUEL—Married on Thursday evening last [May 12] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. Samuel Maynard, to Miss Anne Callahan, both of this city. (May 19).

HEPBURN, DOCTOR SAMUEL—Died suddenly at Upper Marlborough, on the 11th inst., in the 26th year of his age, Doctor Samuel Hepburn. (May 19).

MAGRUDER, MRS. NANCY H.—Died on Tuesday the 31st ult. [May], Mrs. Nancy H. Magruder, wife of John Read Magruder, Jun., of Prince George's County. (June 9).

BROWN, WILLIAM—Died on the 24th inst. [June] at the seat of his son in St. Mary's County, Mr. William Brown, for many years a respectable inhabitant of this city. (July 7).

WARREN, MRS. ANN—Died at Alexandria on the 28th ult. [June] Mrs. Ann Warren, consort of William Warren, manager of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Theatres. (July 7).

DORSEY, RICHARD—Died on Saturday morning last [June 29] at his plantation near this city, Mr. Richard Dorsey, in the 39th year of his age. He has left a wife and five small children. (Aug. 4).

RANDALL, MISS M.—Died on Tuesday evening the 26th ult. [July] Miss M. Randall, of this city. (Aug. 4).

PORTER, CAPTAIN DAVID—Died on June 24, at New Orleans, Captain David Porter, of Baltimore. (Aug. 11).

MAYER, HENRY ERNST—Married on Sunday evening last [Aug. 14] at Pleasant Plains, by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Mr. Henry Ernst Mayer, of Georgetown, to Miss Mary Grammer, daughter of Frederick Grammer, of this city. (Aug. 11).

RICHARDS, CLEMENT—Died on Sunday morning last [Aug. 14] Mr. Clement Richards, an old Revolutionary soldier. He was buried on Monday afternoon with the honours of war. (Aug. 11).

RIDOUT, MRS. MARY—Died on Sunday [Aug. 14], Mrs. Mary Ridout. Her remains, were on Monday last, conveyed to Whitehall, there to be interred. (Aug. 11).

WILLIGMAN, CHARLES HENRY—Married on Thursday evening last [Aug. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Charles Henry Williman, to Miss Catharine Jackson. (Sept. 1).

LUSBY, JAMES—Departed this life on Wednesday the 7th ult., Mr. James Lusby, of this city, in the 35th year of his age. (Sept. 8).

BARNEY, WILLIAM B.—Married at Princeton, N. J., on the 9th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Comfort, William B. Barney, to Miss Mary Chase, daughter of the Hon. Judge Chase, all of Baltimore. (Sept. 22).

WARFIELD, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Thursday morning the 8th inst., Mrs. Elizabeth Warfield, consort of Dr. Charles Alexander Warfield, of Anne Arundel Co. (Sept. 22).

COOK, JAMES—Married on Thursday evening, the 22d inst., by the Rev. Nicholas Chambers, the Rev. James Cook, minister of the gospel, aged 60 years, to the amiable and much esteemed Miss Rebecca Chambers, aged 16 years, of Cecil County, State of Maryland. (Sept. 29).

PAINE, MRS.—Died on Sunday morning, the 18th inst., at her father's house at Cranbrook, in the 68th year of her age, Mrs. Paine, wife of Thomas Paine, author of "The Rights of Man." (Sept. 29).

COLLINSON, WILLIAM—Married on Thursday evening last [Sept. 29] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, William Collinson, of West River, to Miss Elizabeth Whittington, of this city. (Oct. 6).

CASSEL, REV. LEONARD—Died at Baltimore on Monday the 26th ult., [Sept.] in the 24th year of his age, Rev. Leonard Cassel, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Fell's Point. His remains were interred in the Methodist burying ground in the city on Tuesday. (Oct. 6).

HODGES, BENJAMIN—Married on Thursday evening last [Oct. 13] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Benjamin Hodges, of Prince George's County, to Miss Elizabeth Jenings, of this city. (Oct. 20).

TUCK, WASHINGTON—Married on Sunday evening last [Oct. 16] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Washington Tuck, of this city, to Miss Elizabeth Lee, of Anne Arundel County. (Oct. 20).

DUVALL, SAMUEL—Married on Thursday last [Oct. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Scott, Samuel Duvall, of Severn, to Miss Mary Duvall, daughter of Mr. Marden Duvall, of Prince George's County, Md. (Oct. 27).

PATTERSON, WILLIAM—Died at Baltimore, on Thursday, the 20th inst., in the 29th year of his age William Patterson, Jun., of the house of Wm. Patterson and Sons, of that city. (Oct. 27).

SUET, JOHN—Died in Philadelphia, on the 10th instant, John Suet, a mariner, aged 93 years. He was a native of St. Mary's, in this State. (Oct. 27).

PAGE, COL. JOHN—Died in Virginia, on the 11th inst., in the 65th year of his age, Col. John Page, Commissioner of Loans, and late Governor of that State. He was one of our earliest Revolutionary Patriots, and for several years a Representative in Congress. (Oct. 27).

STEPHEN, JOHN—Married on Tuesday, evening last [Nov. 1] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, John Stephen, Esq., Attorney at Law, of Baltimore, to Miss Julianna Brice, of this city. (Nov. 3).

HALL, THOMAS—Married at Baltimore, on Thursday evening, the 27th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Bend, Thomas Hall, Esq., of Hagerstown, to Miss Anne Pottenger, of that city. (Nov. 3).

SNOWDEN, JOHN—Departed this life on Tuesday morning, the 1st

inst., at his residence near the Patuxent Iron Works, John Snowden, in the seventy—— year of his age. (Nov. 3).

CURRAN, MICHAEL—Died in this city, Michael Curran, after being thrown from his horse on Nov. 2. (Nov. 3).

HALLAM, LEWIS—Died at Philadelphia on the 1st inst., in the 75th year of his age, Lewis Hallam, the father of the American Theatre. (Nov. 17).

FRANKLIN, THOMAS—Married in this city on Sunday evening last [Nov. 27] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Thomas Franklin, to Miss Eliza Mackubin, daughter of John C. Mackubin, of Frederick County. (Dec. 1).

WATKINS, ELIZABETH—Died on Sunday, the 20th [Nov.] at the seat of her father, William Hall the 3rd., Mrs. Elizabeth Watkins, of West River. (Dec. 1).

MACKUBIN, JAMES, JR.—Married on Thursday, the 1st inst., by the Rev. Mr. Welch, James Mackubin, Jun., to Miss Mary Ann Merriken. (Dec. 15).

WORTHINGTON, THOMAS—Married on Tuesday, the 6th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Thomas Worthington, to Miss Eliza Baldwin. (Dec. 15).

MACKUBIN, FREDERICK—Married on Sunday last [Dec. 12] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Frederick Mackubin, to Miss De Auchbrune. (Dec. 15).

POTTS, RICHARD—Died in Frederick-town, Richard Potts. (Dec. 15).

LEVY, MRS. ANNE—Died in Baltimore on Thursday last [Dec. 8] in the 23d year of her age, Mrs. Anne Levy, wife of Jacob Levy, and daughter of Mrs. Jane Maggs, of that city. (Dec. 15).

TUCKER, SEELY—Died on Thursday last [Dec. 8] Captain Seely Tucker. (Dec. 15).

GAITHER, MRS. ANNE—Died on Monday [Dec. 12] at an advanced age, Mrs. Anne Gaither. (Dec. 15).

MURRAY, DANIEL—Married at Baltimore on the 8th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bend, Daniel Murray, of the U. S. Navy, to Miss Mary Dorsey, of Baltimore.

GETTY, ROBERT—Married in this city, on Tuesday evening last

[Dec. 27] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Robert Getty, of Georgetown, to the amiable Miss Margaret Wilmot, of this city. (Dec. 29).

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NIXON, JOHN—Died in Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 31st ult., [Dec. 1808] aged 75 years, John Nixon, Esq., President of the Bank of North America, and one of the oldest and most respectable merchants of that city. (Jan. 11).

ORONO, MADAM—Died in Penobscot River, Madam Orono, aged 115 years, relict of Orono, late Chief of the Penobscot Indians, who died a few years since at the age of 110. (Feb. 1).

WASHINGTON, GEORGE S.—Died suddenly on Tuesday night, 16th ult., [Jan.] in Augusta, George S. Washington, Esq., of Virginia, nephew of the late President Washington, in the 37th year of his age. His remains were deposited in St. Paul's Churchyard, attended by the volunteers companies of Augusta, by the city council, and a crowd of citizens, who assembled to pay the last tribute of respect to an officer, to a man of worth, and to a member of that family, which will ever be highly venerated by the American people. (Feb. 8).

SMITHSON, WILLIAM—Died lately at his seat in Harford, the Honorable William Smithson, of the Senate of Maryland. (Feb. 8).

TRUEMAN, CAPT. JOHN—Died in this city on Saturday last [Feb. 4], Capt. John Trueman, an old Revolutionary officer. His remains were interred on Monday with military honors. (Feb. 8).

CHILDS, HENRY—Married on Thursday evening the 16th inst., at Sotterley, St. Mary's Co., by the Rev. Mr. Ralph, Mr. Henry Childs, of Queen-Anne, Prince George's Co., to Miss Mary Tootle, of this city. (Feb. 22).

GWINN, JOHN—Departed this life on Friday night last, [Feb. 23] in the 54th year of his age, John Gwinn, Esq., of this city, Clerk to the late General Court. (March 1).

SHAW, DR. JOHN—Died on Jan. 10, on his passage from Charleston, S. C., to the Bahama Islands, for his health, Dr. John Shaw, Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College of Baltimore, aged 31 years. (March 22).

WATSON, WILLIAM—Died on Monday evening last [March 20], Mr. William Watson, in the 26th year of his age. (March 22).

HEBB, WILLIAM—Married on Tuesday, the 21st inst., by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, William Hebb, to the amiable Miss Sarah Baily, both of St. Mary's Co. (March 29).

HOOE, ROBERT TOWNSHEND—Departed this life at Alexandria on Thursday evening, the 16th inst., Robert Townshend Hooe, in the 66th year of his age. At an early period of his life, and at a time when it became necessary to call forth the talents of the country, he was selected as a member of the Maryland Convention. In the character of a delegate he soon evinced the superiority of his mind, and by a faithful and unremitted attention to the important duties which devolved upon him, acquired universal respect and confidence. At the commencement of the year 1776 he received from the Maryland Convention the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel of the 12th Battalion, belonging to the State. In his military as well as civil capacity, his conduct was equally honourable to himself and serviceable to his country. Upon the establishment of our independence, he resumed the character of a private citizen, and zealously attached to the interests of his country, continued a uniform supporter of those principles by which her independence had been acquired. (March 29).

HOWARD, JOSEPH—Married on Tuesday evening, the 4th inst., near Queen-Anne, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, Mr. Joseph Howard, of Anne Arundel Co., to Miss Elizabeth Susannah Bowie, of Prince George's Co. (April 12).

PARKERSON, WILLIAM—Married in this city on the 4th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. William Parkerson, to Miss Sarah Purdy. (April 12).

THOMAS, PHILIP—Died at Rockland, Cecil Co., on the evening of the 3d inst., Philip Thomas. (April 12).

SUDLER, WILLIAM—Married at Bellefield, on Tuesday evening, the 11th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Judd, William Sudler, of Queen Anne's Co., to Miss Charlotte Mackubin, eldest daughter of James Mackubin, of Severn. (April 19).

LANE, NATHAN—Married on Thursday evening [April 13] by the

Rev. Mr. Compton, Nathan Lane, of Anne Arundel Co., to Miss Mary Williamson, of Calvert Co. (April 19).

CONOWAY, ADDISON—Departed this life on the 20th inst., Mr. Addison Conoway, of Prince George's Co., in the 46th year of his age. (April 26).

TILGHMAN, JAMES—Died on Wednesday, the 18th ult., in Chestertown, the honourable James Tilghman, late Chief Justice of the 2d District, and one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals, in this State. (May 3).

STERETT, JOHN—Died on Friday last at Baltimore, [April 28], Mr. John Sterett. (May 3).

GASSAWAY, LOUIS—Married last evening [June 20] by the Rev. Mr. Smith, Louis Gassaway, to Miss Rebecca Henry, both of this city. (June 21).

OGLE, BENJAMIN—Departed this life on Friday morning last [July 7] in the 61st year of his age, Benjamin Ogle, formerly Governor of this State. His remains, agreeable to his request, were privately interred the same evening on his farm near this city. (July 21).

DUNMORE, LORD—Died in England, Lord Dunmore, formerly Governor of Virginia. (July 19).

WARDER, SUSANNA—Died in Philadelphia on the 30th inst., [June] in the hundred and ninth year of her age, Susanna Warder, formerly the wife of Virgil Warder, who was one of the house servants of William Penn, Proprietor of Pennsylvania. This aged black woman, a daughter of one of his cooks, was born at his mansion house in Pennsbury Manor, in March, 1701, being the same in which he left the province on his return to England. The Penn family, respecting her faithful services in the time of her youth, allowed an annual sum to support her comfortably when she was not able to work, to the end of her days. (July 19).

WHITEWOOD, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died in Georgetown (Columbia) on the 28 ult., Mrs. Elizabeth Whitewood. (Aug. 30).

RUSH, RICHARD—Married on Tuesday the 29th ult. [Aug.] at Piney Grove, by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Richard Rush, to Miss Catharine F. Murray. (Sept. 6).

MURRAY, JAMES—Married on Tuesday the 29th [Aug.] James Murray, to Miss Charlotte W. Rackliffe. (Sept. 6).

HAMMOND, COL. REZIN—Departed this life at his farm in Anne Arundel Co., on Friday the 1st inst., Col. Rezin Hammond, in the 64th year of his age. During the American Revolution, he evinced a sincere and ardent attachment to his country's cause, by heading "a little warrior band," who, devoted to their leader, were with him ready at the call of danger, to engage in her defence. Amongst the names of those who composed our convention is found that of the deceased. For several years he was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens to represent them in the State Legislature. At an advanced period of his life, he retired from the turmoil of the world to the peaceful quiet of his farm. (Sept. 6).

THOMPSON, RICHARD—Died in this city on Saturday morning, [Sept. 2] in the 63d year of his age, Richard Thompson, an old inhabitant of this city. (Sept. 6).

TOOTELL, JAMES—Departed this life in this city yesterday [Sept. 12] Mr. James Tootell, purser of the U. S. Navy. (Sept. 13).

RIDGELY, CHARLES—Married at Baltimore on Thursday evening last [Sept. 21] by the Rev. Mr. Bend, Charles Ridgely, Jun., of Hampton, to Miss Maria Campbell, of that city. (Sept. 27).

WILLIAMSON, JAMES—Married in this city last evening, [Sept. 26] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, James Williamson, to Miss Sarah Anne Mayo. (Sept. 27).

HARWOOD, JOHN EDMUND—Died at Germantown, near Philadelphia, on Thursday last [Sept. 21] John Edmund Harwood, formerly of the New Theatre. (Sept. 27).

REINAGLE, ALEXANDER—Died at Baltimore on Thursday evening [Sept. 21] in the 62d year of his age, Alexander Reinagle, one of the managers of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Theatres. (Sept. 27).

BARCLAY, MRS.—Died on the 9th inst. [Sept.], Mrs. Barclay, wife of the Rev. Francis Barclay, Rector of William & Mary Parish, St. Mary's Co. (Oct. 4).

SANDS, SAMUEL—Died in this city last evening [Oct. 3] Samuel Sands, in the 38th year of his age. (Oct. 4).

CLARKE, BENJAMIN HALL—Married on Tuesday evening the 3rd inst., at Coll Spring Manor, near Queen Anne, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, Benjamin Hall Clarke, to Miss Nelly Clagett, eldest daughter of Joseph White Clagett, all of Prince George's Co. (Oct. 11).

THOMAS, JOHN HANSON—Married on Thursday evening, the 5th inst., John Hanson Thomas, to Miss Mary L. Colston, daughter of Rawleigh Colston, of Berkley Co., Va. (Oct. 18).

ROSS, JOHN—Died on Friday evening last [Oct. 13] Mr. John Ross, of this city. (Oct. 18).

EVERETT, REV. JOSEPH—Died at Cambridge, on the Eastern Shore of this State, on Monday the 16th inst., the Rev. Joseph Everett, in the 78th year of his age, and 30th of his ministry in the Methodist Church. (Oct. 25).

WILKINS, JOHN—Married on Thursday the 19th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Roberts, John Wilkins, of Baltimore, to Miss Elizabeth Dorsey, daughter of Major Edward Dorsey, of Anne Arundel Co. (Nov. 1).

WHETCROFT, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Wednesday evening [Oct. 25] in the 50th year of her age, Mrs. Elizabeth Whetcroft, consort of Burton Whetcroft, of this city. (Nov. 1).

WHITE, SAMUEL—Died at his lodging this morning [Nov. 4] Samuel White. Mr. White has for several years represented this State in the Senate of the United States. (Nov. 15).

MANSFIELD, JOHN—Married at Baltimore by the Rev. Doct. Bend, John Mansfield, of London, to Miss Mary B. Smith, of that city, daughter of General Smith. (Dec. 6).

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DULANY, DANIEL—Married on Thursday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Judd [Jan. 4] at Belvoir, the residence of Col. Henry Maynadier, Daniel Dulany, of Fitzhugh, of Baltimore, to Miss Margaret Murray Maynadier. (Jan. 10).

BLAKISTONE, MRS. MARY—Died on the 8th inst., in St. Mary's Co., in the 25th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Blakistone. (Jan. 31).

GLOVER, WILLIAM—Died on Wednesday, the 25th inst., William Glover. (Jan. 31).

RIDGELY, CHARLES—Married in this city on Tuesday, the 30th ult. [Jan.] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Charles Ridgely, to Miss Elizabeth Fowler, youngest daughter of William Fowler, all of this city. (Feb. 7).

CHISHOLM, ARCHIBALD—Died at West River, Archibald Chisholm, formerly of this city. (Feb. 7).

AGUISTUS, JOHN—Died in this city, John Aguistus, a native of Portand, Mass. (Feb. 26).

M'GRATH, REV. OWEN—Died on Thursday the 8th at Alexandria, the Rev. Owen M'Grath. (Feb. 26).

HOLLAND, EDWARD—Died in this city on Saturday night last, [March 3] Edward Holland. (March 7).

HEWITT, THOMAS WILLIAM—Died in this city on Saturday morning last, [March 10] Thomas William Hewitt, in the 42d year of his age. (March 14).

LEWIS, MRS. ELIZABETH—Departed this life on Thursday evening last [March 15] at Hackett's Point, Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis, in the 27th year of her age. (March 21).

CONTEE, ALEXANDER—Died suddenly in Charles Co., Md., at the residence of the Rev. Dr. B. Contee, on the 21st inst., in the 56th year of his age, Alexander Contee. (March 21).

STONE, MRS. MARY—Died on Monday evening last [March 19] in this city, Mrs. Mary Stone, in the 29th year of her age. (March 21).

PLUMMER, JOHN—Married near Queen Anne on Sunday morning last [March 25] by the Rev. Mr. Weems, John Plummer, Jr., of Prince George's Co., to Miss Anne Worthington, daughter of John Worthington, of Anne Arundel Co. (March 28).

FOX, MR.—Died at Charleston, S. C., on the 15th ult. [March], Mr. Fox, of the Theatre. (April 4).

CLAGETT, WILLIAM—Died at Hagerstown, on the 25th ult. [March], William Clagett, an Associate Judge of the 5th Judicial District of the State of Maryland. (April 4).

HIGGINS, MRS. GRACE—Died in this city on Sunday morning last [April 8] Mrs. Grace Higgins, in the 90th year of her age. (April 11).

JARVIS, NATHAN—Departed this life on Sunday morning last

[April 15] in this city, Mr. Nathan Jarvis, printer, in the 39th year of his age. (April 18).

WASHINGTON, GENERAL WILLIAM—Died at Sandy Hill, S. C., on the 16th ult., General William Washington. (April 18).

HUNTER, JAMES—Married on Thursday last [May 17] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. James Hunter, to Miss Elizabeth Glover, all of this city. (May 23).

GALLOWAY, JOHN—Died on Wednesday last [May 16] at Tulip Hill, on West River, Mr. John Galloway. (May 23).

CLAGETT, GUSTAVUS A.—Died at Upper Marlborough on Thursday last [May 17] Mr. Gustavus A. Clagett. (May 23).

HUTTON, SAMUEL—Died in this city on Friday morning last [May 18] Mr. Samuel Hutton, in the 53rd year of his age. (May 23).

SELLMAN, GEN. JONATHAN—Died on Monday night last [May 21] at his farm on Rhode River, Gen. Jonathan Sellman. (May 23).

JACK—Died on Sunday, the 20th inst., at the plantation of George Calvert, Esq., Prince George's Co., negro Jack, in the 120th year of his age. (May 23).

TURNER, JOHN B.—Married on Sunday the 20th inst. [May] at Port Tobacco, by the Rev. Mr. Weems, John B. Turner, to Miss Anne Stone, both of that place. (June 6).

FOWLER, MRS. REBECCA—Died in this city on Friday night last [June 1] Mrs. Rebecca Fowler, late consort of Mr. William Fowler. (June 6).

M'ELDERRY, THOMAS—Died on the 27th inst. [May] in the city of Baltimore, Thomas M'Elderry, Esq., one of the Senators in the State Legislature. (June 13).

CLARK, MISS MARTHA HALL—Died in Prince George's Co., on Saturday morning, the 30th ult. [June] at the seat of James N. L. Weems, Esq., Miss Martha Hall Clark, in the 22d year of her age. (July 4).

WEEDON, SAMUEL T.—Died on Saturday the 20th of June, Samuel T. Weedon, Esq., Clerk of Queen Anne's Co., and Adjutant-General of this State. (July 11).

BROWN, DR. JOHN H.—Married on Tuesday the 17th inst., at the

head of Severn, by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Dr. John H. Brown, to Miss Anne Ball. (July 25).

BARNES, JOSEPH B.—Died yesterday morning [July 24] in this city, in the 23d year of his age, Mr. Joseph B. Barnes. (July 25).

BROOME, JOHN—Died in New York on the 8th inst., the Hon. John Broome, Lieut. Governor of that State. (Aug. 15).

CONKLING, LIEUTENANT SOLOMON G.—Died at Ft. M'Henry, Baltimore, on the 9th inst., Lieutenant Solomon G. Conkling, of the United States Regiment of Artillery. (Aug. 15).

JENIFER, JOSEPH—Died in this county on Friday last [Aug. 10], Mr. Joseph Jenifer. (Aug. 15).

BUCKLAND, MRS. MARY—Died in this city on Saturday last [Aug. 11], Mrs. Mary Buckland, in the 78th year of her age. (Aug. 15).

SANDS, WILLIAM—Died on Sunday last [Aug. 12] in this city, Mr. William Sands, in the 75th year of his age. (Aug. 15).

BROOKE, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Friday the 17th in the 28th year of her age, Mrs. Elizabeth Brooke, wife of Mr. Thomas Brooke, and the second daughter of Walter Bowie, Esq. (Aug. 29).

MUIR, JOHN—Died in this city on the 30th ult. [Aug.], John Muir, President of the Farmer's Bank of Maryland, in the 60th year of his age. This worthy gentleman was a native of Scotland, and came to this country at a very early period of his life, from which time he attached himself warmly to the cause of American Independence, and took an active part in that struggle which terminated in the freedom of the country. His services as a member of the Legislature of Maryland, for six years, entitle his memory to the grateful respect of his fellow-citizens, and more particularly to those of Annapolis, whose best friend he has ever been. (Sept. 5).

SHAAF, MRS. MARY—Departed this life on Friday night last [Aug. 31] in the 34th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Shaaf, the amiable consort of Dr. John T. Shaaf, of this city. (Sept. 5).

CLARKE, LIEUTENANT SATTERLEE—Married on Sunday evening last [Sept. 23] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Lieutenant Satterlee Clarke, to Miss Francis Whetcroft, of this city. (Sept. 26).

HARWOOD, NICHOLAS—Died on Thursday last, the 4th inst., Nicholas Harwood, an old inhabitant of this city, in the 65th year of his age. This gentleman began the career of life about the commencement of the Revolution. Through the whole of our struggle for independence he was the open and avowed friend of those rights we then contended for and through a long life continued firmly attached to them. He was early appointed to the office of Clerk of Anne Arundel County Court, which he continued to hold to the day of his death. (Oct. 10).

SYBELL, MRS.—Died in this city on Wednesday last [Oct. 10] Mrs. Sybell, consort of Mr. Henry Sybell. (Oct. 17).

WATTS, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Oct. 10, Mrs. Elizabeth Watts, consort of Mr. Richard B. Watts. (Oct. 17).

WELCH, JOSEPH—Died on Friday evening [Oct. 13] Mr. Joseph Welch. (Oct. 17).

ARCHER, JOHN, M. D.—Died at his seat in Harford Co., at an advanced age, John Archer, M. D. (Oct. 10).

DUCKETT, BARUCH—Died at his seat in Prince George's Co., Baruch Duckett, in the 66th year of his age. (Oct. 17).

WELLS, JOHN—Married at West River on Thursday evening last [Oct. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Pitts, Mr. John Wells, to Miss Hannah Mayo, all of this city. (Oct. 31).

WYVILL, MISS SUSAN—Died in this city, to which she removed from her residence near Herring Bay, for her health on Thursday last [Oct. 25] Miss Susan Wyvill, in the 28th year of her age. (Oct. 31).

STEWART, ROBERT W.—Married on the 17th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Robert W. Stewart, of Somerset Co., Md., to Miss Nancy Jones Warren, of Sussex Co., Delaware. (Nov. 7).

(*To be continued*)

HOW MARYLAND TRIED TO RAISE HER CONTINENTAL QUOTAS

By Arthur J. Alexander

It is difficult indeed to wage war, let alone a revolutionary war, lacking adequate supplies and materiel. Still more difficult is it to wage war of this character lacking sufficient manpower. It was such a combination which ever plagued the Continental High Command. What was a difficult problem from the very outset of the Revolution became more and more so as the War progressed. Necessary as it was to enlist new recruits to maintain the existing strength of the army, it was even more necessary to gain the additional numbers required for offensive action.

Colonial Americans seemed to be more averse to joining the colors with victory just over the horizon than they were at the outset of the conflict.[1] What was true of all colonials was particularly true of those resident in Maryland. Thus it was not until the Revolutionary War had virtually passed the halfway mark and various expedients to raise sufficient men had been tried and failed, that compulsory service was finally resorted to in order to yield the quotas demanded by a vociferous and long impatient Congress.[2] This is a study of the steps Maryland took to induce volunteers to fill her quotas and of the reasons why compulsion was finally adopted as a last resort.

In the early stages of the conflict the General Assembly was obsessed with the idea that if only a sufficiently attractive bounty were forthcoming, recruits in sufficient numbers would flock to the Continental standard. Actually, the Assembly went on record as favoring " an enlistment of volunteers on bounty " considered

[1] " The difficulty of enlisting increased with each year of the war, and when the French army arrived became worst of all." Claude H. Van Tyne, *The War of Independence, American Phase,* . . . (Boston, 1929), p. 74.

[2] *Laws of Maryland,* March Session, 1778, Ch. V.

" the most eligible mode to furnish . . . our quota of the Continental Army." [3]

For a time General Washington himself believed Maryland's efforts to recruit a volunteer force " to little purpose," and voiced his fears " that nothing short of drafting will have the desired effect." [4] Despite this the General was magnanimous enough to credit the report that the State was likely to get its regiments " nearly completed." [5] Unfortunately, however, Washington's fears were well grounded and proved only too true in the long run. This in spite of the fact that bounties were gradually increased, both quantitively and qualitatively, to tempt new recruits.

Having once embarked upon a policy of voluntary enlistment based upon bounties, the State was loath to yield in favor of another and perhaps more successful recruiting system. It is indeed possible that in this respect the legislators bowed to the dictates of their constituents.[6] Balked on this score, Maryland put forth special effort to retain the services of those whose periods of enlistment were about to expire. Similarly, efforts were made to have discharged veterans return to the ranks.

Finding it as difficult to gain new recruits as to induce experienced veterans to re-enter the service the State had recourse to the services of recruiting officers.[7] These officers were spurred on by bounties based upon the number of men recruited. The greater the number of recruits mustered by an officer the larger his bounty, with an additional bounty forthcoming in the event that he succeeded in raising his quota before a certain day.[8]

[3] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland,* October Session, 1777, 12. Entry of November 13, 1777. *Laws,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. II.

[4] Washington to the President of Congress, April 10, 1778, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1779* (Washington, D. C., 1931-1941), XI, 238-9. Washington to Brigadier-General William Smallwood, January 28, 1778. *Ibid.*, X, 360-1.

[5] Washington to John Augustine Washington, June 10, 1778. *Ibid.*, XII, 42-3.

[6] " I cannot think the mode of draughting the men will ever procure them," William Hemsley to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, July 12, 1781, *Archives of Maryland,* XLVII, 347; ". . . I much fear they will never be procured by draughting," Hemsley to Lee, July 17, 1781. *Ibid.,* 354; " Draughted men, who are forced out will render very little assistance or rather do no good," John D. Thompson to Governor Lee, Aug. 11, 1781. *Ibid.,* 411.

[7] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* October Session, 1777, 12. *Laws, October Session,* 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. III.

[8] *Ibid.,* Sects. III, XIV, XV.

Able-bodied vagrants, properly adjudicated such, who were over the age of eighteen were forced, willy-nilly, to render at least nine months service in the army.[9] Should these unfortunates elect to remain in service for three years or the duration they thereby became eligible to receive the customary bounty. Private citizens were encouraged to hire their own recruits on the promise of exemption from military as well as militia service for nine months, three years or the duration, dependent upon the period for which their substitute enlisted.[10]

When these expedients failed to yield men in numbers sufficient to close up the ranks, the legislature sought to further postpone the day of reckoning by enlarging the group of individuals deemed eligible for service. Negroes and mulattoes, proscribed at the outset, thereby became eligible for admission to the ranks at a later date.

Finally, when all expedients to defer the draft had been tried and found wanting, and only as a "last resort," was the General Assembly ready to sanction an all-out draft.[11] Ironically, the burden of the draft fell most heavily upon those least able to bear it unaided.[12] As much of this failure can be attributed to the individuals subject to the draft as to the officers charged with the enforcement of the Act itself.

[9] *Ibid.,* March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sects. VI-VII. At the May Session of 1781 this provision was changed to require all vagrants above the age of sixteen to serve in the army until December 10, 1781 or to enlist for three years or the duration. *Laws,* May Session, 1781, Ch. XV, Sect. VII. This change was made in spite of strong opposition in the House. The House felt that its enactment might drive able-bodied vagrants out of Maryland who otherwise might be tempted to become substitutes. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* June Session, 1780, 222; *Ibid.,* May Session, 1781, 150. Some persons were adjudged to be vagrants although they did not come within the statutory description of such. [Council to delegates in Congress] May 22, 1778, *Archives of Maryland,* XXI, 107-8; 115-6. *Ibid.*, 104. Council to W. Haslet, May 21, 1778.

[10] *Laws,* June Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. II; March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. V. When a militiaman furnished a substitute to serve for three years or during the War he was "exempt from being draughted, and from all militia and military duty within and without the state, for three years or during the war"; whereas if two militiamen hired a substitute their exemption was limited to being exempted "from being draughted, and from all military duty out of the state for three years or during the war . . ." Two militiamen furnishing a nine months recruit were entitled to a similar exemption limited to nine months.

[11] *Laws,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. VI. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* October Session, 1780, 89. Entry of January 15, 1781. "That there be a draught in the last resort." Resolved in the affirmative.

[12] ". . . The Draught having fallen on many poor Men who have a number of children that depend solely on their Labour for a Subsistance . . ." Hemsley to Lee, May 10, 1781, *Archives of Maryland,* XLVII, 236.

It took the Continental Congress less than three months to conclude that the ten dollars originally offered a recruit for a three year enlistment was too insignificant an inducement to tempt a man to enlist for a lengthy period of service. Congress therefore sought volunteers for the duration, unless sooner discharged, through the medium of a new offer of twenty dollars and a grant of land "to be provided by the United States." [13] Congress was most careful, however, to stipulate that the expense of procuring the requisite land be "paid and borne by the states in the same proportion as the other expenses of the war."

Maryland was ready and more than willing to do her bit to recruit the men needed for the eight Continental battalions assigned her, yet at the same time the State was loath to assume the obligation involved. What the Maryland Convention therefore did was to advance an original argument which was to have tremendous repercussions at a later date in another and more important connection.

Not only did the State not possess lands which it could call its own but it might conceivably incur "an expence exceeding its abilities." [14] To compel the State to incur an expense might only result in additional injustice and further inequity. Under these circumstances the Convention felt that the payment of an extra ten dollars in lieu of the hundred acres offered a private soldier furnished the ideal solution of the problem.

Congress, however, failed to acquiesce in this solution and bluntly informed the Convention just where it stood. The Continental Congress had seen fit to pledge the joint faith of all the states with the inevitable result "that no one State can by its own act be released therefrom." Should Congress permit Maryland to have its own way the result might be to "compel Congress to the immediate payment of an additional bounty far beyond what is reasonable." [15]

[13] Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, D. C., 1904-1937), V, 483, 762-3. Land bounties ranged from one hundred acres granted a private or non-commissioned officer to five hundred acres awarded a colonel.

[14] *Proceedings of the Convention of the Province of Maryland, Held at the City of Annapolis, in 1774, 1775 and 1776* (Baltimore, 1836), 272. Peter Force, ed., *American Archives: Fifth Series* (Washington, D. C., 1837-1858), III, 120. Esther Mohr Dole, *Maryland during the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1941), 75-78.

[15] *American Archives,* Fifth Series, III, 508-9. President of Congress to the Maryland Convention, November 4, 1776.

Although Congress was reluctant to yield the point it did relent to the extent of permitting the states to fill their battalions with recruits enlisted for three years or the War.[16] At the same time those who did enlist for this period were permitted to accept the Congressional bounty which was to be exclusive of any offered by the states.

Gradually Maryland shifted its position on the question of land bounties and before a year had elapsed not only was the State offering recruits forty dollars cash, a fifty-acre tract of land, a pair of shoes and stockings, all in addition to the Continental bounty, but also exemption " from all taxes during the time of their being on duty, and for the space of four years after they are regularly discharged." [17]

What was most significant about this combination cash-land-clothing-tax exemption bounty was the inclusion of the land bounty feature. It was only the previous year that the Convention lamented that the State had " no Lands belonging solely and exclusively " to itself, with which to make good the Continental bounty, yet now a year later was more than ready to guaranty that " if no other provision be made for laying out the quantity of land that may be necessary for the purpose aforesaid within this state, the same shall be procured by this state within the limits thereof, at the public expence." [18]

Thus a simple ten dollar cash offer intended to supplement the Continental bounty had increased to $30, was quickly raised to $40 and eventually mushroomed into all of $250.[19] At the same time the offer of a pair of shoes and stockings blossomed forth into a gift of a complete outfit consisting of a coat, hat, waistcoat, breeches, shirt, shoes and stockings.[20] Unfortunately these well

[16] Samuel Chase to Maryland Council of Safety, Nov. 21, 1776, *Ibid.,* 788; Resolution of Nov. 21, 1776, *Journals of the Continental Congress,* VI, 971.

[17] *Laws,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. VI.

[18] Entry of October 9, 1776, *Proceedings of the Convention,* 272. *American Archives,* Fifth Series, III, 120.

[19] *Laws,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. IX.

[20] *American Archives,* Fifth Series, III, 120. Offer of ten dollar bounty in lieu of the hundred acre bounty awarded by the Continental Congress. *Laws,* June Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. I. The thirty dollar bounty was not directly offered by the State. Employers of substitutes were not required to pay their substitutes a bounty in excess of this sum. *Ibid.,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. IV. Forty dollars bounty. *Ibid.,* March Session, 1780, Ch. II, Sect. 1. $250 bounty.

meant, pious expressions of legislative intent were no guaranty that either cash or clothing would be on hand when needed.[21]

The fifty acre bounty was not subject to metamorphosis and remained constant throughout the war period. The only "catch" in connection with the offer was that whereas a recruit could claim his cash and clothes upon his enlistment he was obliged to complete his full period of service before he could claim his acres.[22] A person foolish enough to desert relinquished his claim forthwith. The grant of tax exemption for the duration of service and four years thereafter also failed to undergo change during the Revolution.

General Washington considered Maryland's bounty generous enough but, as has already been seen, the offer of a bounty in and of itself was no adequate guaranty of its availability. Actual cash in hand as usual meant more to an impecunious recruit than promised payment at some future uncertain date. The recruiting officers themselves were under no illusions on this score and more than one was forced to confess that unless "furnished with money for that purpose [recruiting] every effort of mine will be fruitless."[23] One recruiting officer, more ingenious than his fellows, tried the expedient of persuading his recruits "to lend part of their money to the State, this will be a good security against desertion."[24] Although it might have been a good security against desertion it smacked too much of imposition and there is no record of the success of the plan.

If lack of cash or clothing deterred new men from enlisting how could one expect veterans who had already experienced the hardships of numerous campaigns to re-enlist? These men knew all too well the significance of the term hardship and unless possessed of more than an average degree of love of country would not be inclined to re-enlist, all the more so, if such bounties, as were forthcoming, were only to be offered new recruits.

[21] Washington to Governor Thomas Johnson, August 29, 1778, *Writings of Washington,* XII, 373; Richard Dallam to Governor Lee, July 14, 1780, *Archives of Maryland,* XLV, 13-14; Hemsley to Governor Lee, July 23, 1780, *Ibid.,* 24-25; Richard Barnes to Governor Lee, July 28, 1780, *Ibid.,* 32-33; W. Bordley to Governor Lee, July 21, 1780, *Ibid.,* 19-20.

[22] *Laws,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sects. IX-X. *Ibid.,* November Session, 1779, Ch. XXXVI, Sects. VII-VIII.

[23] Mark Alexander, Jr., to Governor Lee, July 4, 1781, *Archives of Maryland,* XLVII, 336.

[24] Bordley to Governor Lee, July 21, 1780, *Archives of Maryland,* XLV, 19-20.

As a matter of fact, it might have taken more than was promised a recruit to tempt a veteran. Be that as it may, bounties available to recruits were extended to include those about to leave the service or who had already been discharged.[25]

Every soldier must expect hardship, the normal concomitant of any campaign as part of his usual lot, but war is also the breeder of monetary inflation. It was inflation rather than generosity which was in goodly part responsible for the mushrooming of the original cash grant into the $250 offered in 1780.

Small as was the compensation of the average soldier, inflation rendered this pittance more insignificant than ever. To compensate for what was a real injustice, a discharged veteran who re-enlisted was therefore granted " a certificate for the depreciation of the pay which became due to him while he was in service, between the first day of January Seventeen hundred and seventy-seven and the last day of July last (1780), as if he was in the quota of this State of the Continental Army at the time of passing the act of the present session to settle and adjust the accounts of the troops of this State in the service of the United States, and for other purposes." [26]

The Commander in Chief was confident that it was entirely unnecessary to remind General Smallwood " of the necessity . . . to use every Argument with the Officers which may serve to call forth their utmost exertions in the recruiting Service." [27] The General Assembly felt that the best way to stimulate a recruiting officer was an offer of a combination cash-land bounty.[28] Recruiting officers, who were obliged to be " active and spirited " persons, were entitled to cash bounties for each able-bodied recruit they induced to enter the service. At first a recruiting officer could only claim sixteen dollars for each of his recruits but later this was increased more than sixfold to $100.[29] At the same time,

[25] Bounty awarded a discharged veteran upon his re-enlistment, *Laws,* November Session, 1779, Ch. XXXVI, Sects. XVI-XVII. *Ibid.,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIV, Sects. II-III. Bounty intended to stimulate the re-enlistment of men already in the service. *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate,* November Session, 1779, 36. Entry of December 27, 1779.

[26] *Laws,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIV, Sect. III. For the Act settling and adjusting the accounts of the troops see *Ibid.,* Ch. XXXVIII.

[27] Washington to Gen. William Smallwood, May 3, 1777, *Writings of Washington,* VIII, 12-13.

[28] *Laws,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sects. III-XIV-XV.

[29] *Ibid.,* November Session, 1779, Ch. XXXVI, Sect. V.

if an officer succeeded in recruiting twenty men before a fixed date he was entitled to call upon the State for one hundred acres.[30] Should an officer be laggard and not raise his assigned quota until a later date, he forfeited half his claim and was only entitled to fifty acres.[31]

Recruiting officers were obliged to be residents of the counties in which they sought to raise their recruits; one officer being allotted each twenty recruits to be raised in his county. Should a sufficient number of " active and spirited " residents eligible to become recruiting officers be lacking, then the regular army could be called upon to make good the deficiency.[32] Although a requisition of such a character might conceivably have a devastating effect upon the army, officers detailed on this duty could still claim the usual bounties. As it was, recruiting officers felt that the State had not done enough for them and insisted that they be reimbursed for their expenses incurred in the ordinary course of business.[33]

At the outbreak of the War not only slaves but free Negroes as well were debarred from militia duty.[34] When the need for manpower became most acute there was a radical change of policy with regard to the utilization of the services of the colored man as a soldier. The first and more radical change permitted the voluntary enlistment of able-bodied slaves between sixteen and forty, provided their masters consented.[35] Less drastic, but

[30] *Ibid.,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sects. XIV-XV. The House of Delegates sought to limit a recruiting officers's compensation to a cash bounty of twelve dollars per recruit, a sum below the sixteen dollars adopted. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* October Session, 1777, 12. Entry of November 13, 1777.

[31] *Laws,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. XV. This Act fixed January 20, 1778, as the date upon which the hundred acre bounty accrued. If the quota was not raised until March 1st then the bounty was halved. *Ibid.,* November Session, 1779, Ch. XXXVI, Sect. XIII. In this case the dates fixed were March and April 1st, 1780, respectively.

[32] ". . . The governor and the council are requested, if they should esteem it necessary, to write to his excellency general Washington, to send some active officers of the Maryland line to assist in the recruiting service," *Ibid.,* Sect. V; *Ibid.,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. VIII; the Legislature authorized " that the governor and council . . . continue the recruiting service in the most effectual manner, by recruiting serjeants from the army, or otherwise . . ." *Ibid.,* March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. III.

[33] Edward S. Delaplaine, *The Life of Thomas Johnson* (New York, 1927), p. 254.

[34] The militia was only open to " able bodied male white persons between sixteen and fifty years of age," *Laws,* June Session, 1777, Ch. XVII, Sect. I.

[35] This permitted the enlistment of able-bodied slaves between sixteen and forty provided that they were " passed by the lieutenant, in the presence with the consent and agreement of his master . . .", *Laws,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. IV.

equally significant, was the enrollment of Negro and mulatto freemen in the militia whereupon all such freemen not vagrants or enlisted as such became " subject to a draught." [36]

A policy diametrically opposed was employed in connection with the recruitment of apprentices and indentured servants. At first any apprentice or indentured servant could enlist of his own free will provided his unexpired time of service did not exceed eighteen months, the monetary value of which was not in excess of £16 common money.[37] At the same time provision was made to reimburse the master of such person for the value of such unexpired period of service out of the enlistee's bounty and army pay. It was only a question of a few months before apprentices and servants were deprived of this privilege.[38]

Nevertheless, Maryland was none too anxious to lose the service of these men and boys, particularly those of Irish or American birth, who were not employed in certain essential war industries. Although they could no longer enlist of their own free will they could be furnished as substitutes for others. The employers of such substitutes thereby gained exemptions for themselves from all " militia or military duty " for three years, the period for which their substitutes were enlisted.[39] As could be expected, " scandalous frauds and abuses " arose out of this practice, particularly when a servant or apprentice was enlisted for a long period of time, whereas he had but a short time within which to complete his contractual period of service.[40]

Throughout the entire Revolutionary conflict recruiting officers were time and again instructed in the most positive terms to avoid enlistment of British and foreign deserters.[41] The mere fact that it was repeatedly found necessary to reiterate this warning serves as proof of continued violation of instructions.

[36] *Ibid.,* May Session, 1781, Ch. XV, Sect. XII.

[37] Apprentices above the age of sixteen were subject to ordinary militia duty. " Servants purchased bona fide for money " were exempt from this obligation. *Laws,* June Session, 1777, Ch. XVII, Sect. II; *Ibid.,* February Session, 1777, Ch. III, Sect. III.

[38] *Ibid.,* June Session, 1777, Ch. X.

[39] *Ibid.,* Ch. VIII, Sect. I.

[40] *Ibid.,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect XII.

[41] Washington to Governor Johnson, April 8, 1779, *Writings of Washington,* XIV, 347-349; Washington to Smallwood, April 8, 1779, *Ibid.,* 351; Council to the Recruiting Officers in St. Mary's . . . Counties, January 3, 1780, *Archives of Maryland,* XLIII, 47-48; Samuel Chester to Governor Lee, February 28, 1780, *Ibid.,* 437.

Statutory enactment was necessary to bar the use of British deserters or for that matter prisoners of war as militia substitutes.[42] But even this ban did not deter the enlistment of British deserters in the first instance. The result was that it finally became necessary to interdict the enlistment of English deserters by statute.[43] Coupled with this enactment was a ban upon "imported convicts who had not served their full term of seven years."

Just as the ban on imported convicts may have been, the doors of the service seem to have swung wide open to permit the enlistment of native born felons.[44] Colonel Forrest even went so far as to request Governor Lee "to send some orders respecting the negro man under sentence of Death, he is so young and healthy and would make a fine soldier if acquitted." [45]

Not only did felons gain their pardon by rendering military service, but, what is more important, political prisoners enjoyed a similar privilege by statutory grant.[46] A disaffected person who himself entered the armed forces or procured another to substitute in his stead thereby regained all the rights and privileges of a free citizen of Maryland.[47]

The time came when Maryland could no longer afford to temporize and must perforce adopt compulsory service without further delay. But when Maryland did so in 1778 immediate compulsion was out of the question, temporizing was still too strong a habit to be so easily shaken off. Instead the first Draft Act contained alternative measures designed "to prevent as far as possible the necessity of draughting." [48] If these measures, the hiring of substitutes and the taking up of vagrants, brought in the

[42] *Laws,* June Session, 1778, Ch. I.

[43] *Ibid.,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. XV.

[44] Philip Thomas to Governor Lee, August 13, 1781, *Archives of Maryland,* XLVII, 415.

[45] Zacha Forrest to Governor Lee, April 17, 1781, *Ibid.,* 196.

[46] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* October Session, 1777, 12; *Laws,* October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. VII; *Ibid.,* May Session, 1781, Ch. XV, Sect. VIII; Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, Pardon granted to John Rodgers of Frederick County on condition that he enlist forthwith, April 13, 1780, *Archives of Maryland,* XLIII, 141.

[47] Bernard C. Steiner, *Western Maryland in the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1902) (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XX, No. 1, 27). Cites the case of a man who escaped imprisonment for failure to post a bond that he "would neither say nor do anything inimical to the United States" by voluntarily enlisting in the Continental Service.

[48] *Laws,* March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. IV.

needed men, so much the better; if not, only then could Marylanders be compelled to become soldiers against their will.[49]

In order to equalize the burden of militia service the militia companies of each county were divided into classes.[50] In order to equalize the burden of the draft the counties were again broken up into classes, but where the militia classes contained equal numbers of men regardless of property holdings, the draft classes were set up on the basis of an " equal assessment on property." The pioneer Draft Act, that enacted in 1778, was most specific in this respect: there were to be " as many classes as there may be men wanted, having regard to property, so as to distribute the same as equally as may be into each class." [51]

The Draft Act of 1780, on the other hand, struck a mean between the equality of numbers of the Militia Act and the equality of property of the earlier Draft Act. Under the terms of the Act of 1780 each class was required to contain £16,000 of property " as near as conveniently may be, taking care, as far as convenience will allow, to mix in each class persons of considerable property with such as have little or none, putting into each class, as near as conveniently may be, an equal number of militia men." [52]

The mere fact that fickle fortune's lot fell upon some unwilling Marylander was no positive guaranty that he would render the required military service. All an unwilling recruit had to do to gain his discharge was to find a " good and sufficient recruit in his stead." [53] If the " good and sufficient recruit " could for a consideration or otherwise, be induced to serve for " three years unless sooner discharged " his employer not only gained his own release from the service but was also able to call upon his fellow " classers " for a fixed cash contribution to boot.[54]

A faint-hearted, or for that matter, a well-to-do Marylander was not even obliged to tempt Dame Fortune; hiring a substitute

[49] *Ibid.,* Sect. V. Hiring of substitutes. *Ibid.,* Sect. VI. Taking up of vagrants. *Ibid.,* Sect. XIII. Rewarded captors of deserters with exemption from the draft.

[50] *Laws,* June Session, 1777, Ch. XVII, Sect. V. Militia companies were divided into eight equal classes determined by lot.

[51] *Ibid.,* March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. XI.

[52] *Ibid.,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. III.

[53] *Ibid.,* Sect. VI.

[54] *Ibid.,* Sects. VI, XX. This contribution was calculated on the basis of four shillings for every hundred pounds worth of property.

before the required classing took place did the trick. Marylanders not in a position to hire their own substitutes could do so in conjunction with complaisant friends or neighbors, thereby gaining a limited exemption from militia and military service for all concerned.[55]

In the interim between the passage of the two Draft Acts another interesting measure intended to stimulate recruiting was adopted.[56] Unfortunately this Act failed to accomplish its purpose and only speeded the enactment of the second Draft Act. Once again each county was sub-divided into equal-property classes, each charged with the task of finding an able-bodied recruit to serve for the duration of the conflict. This quest could be avoided, however, if the class took up a deserter who had previously enlisted for the duration and then fled the service. Should a class be unable to furnish a recruit or take up some convenient deserter then the County Lieutenant of the county in which the class was resident was required to appoint suitable men to seek recruits on the promise of a cash bounty to be raised by taxation, the bounty not to exceed £15 for each hundred pounds of property classed.[57]

Although as much as £3000 was available for recruiting purposes in some instances, the classes were unable to meet the competition offered by recruiting officers employed by the states of Delaware and Virginia.[58] Two better reasons can be assigned for the failure of this Act, the lack of hard cash with which to pay the promised bounties and impositions practised upon unwary recruits, defects which the Legislature quickly sought to remedy.[59]

[55] *Laws,* March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. V; June Session, 1780, Ch. XXIII, Sect. VIII, granted exemption "from all military duty out of this state."

[56] *Ibid.,* June Session, 1780, Ch. X, Sect. IV.

[57] This was the so-called "Fifteen per cent tax."

[58] "I have as yet recruited only two men which stands me in £3000. Each. That business will be at an End here for some time, as I Understand the Virginians are giving £3000 for men to serve only eighteen months," Jos'a. Beall to Governor Lee, August 28, 1780, *Archives of Maryland,* XLV, 63. Wm. Whiteley to the Governor and Council, July 24, 1780, "for they are giving (in Kent County in Delaware which is adjoining our County) as high as fifteen hundred pounds for Men to serve for three Months, and the fifteen per cent on the Classes in our County only amounts to four hundred and fifty pounds," *Ibid.,* 27.

[59] Lack of funds: Richard Barnes to Gov. Lee, July 23, 1780, *Archives of Maryland,* XLV, 24; Barnes to Lee, July 28, 1780, Ibid., 32-33; Dallam to Lee, July 14, 1780, *Ibid.,* 13-14. The Legislature sought to remedy this situation by authorizing the Governor and Council to advance the necessary funds subject to subsequent reimbursement by distress and sale of delinquent class property where necessary.

Various expedients were adopted in Revolutionary Maryland to fill the depleted ranks of the Continental Army but all seem to have failed of their purpose. It was only after these expedients had been tried and found wanting that Maryland actually resorted to compulsory service.

Laws, June Session, 1780, Ch. XXIII, Sect. V. Imposition practised upon recruits: George Dashiell to Governor Lee, August 17, 1780, *Archives of Maryland,* XLV, 52-53. For the remedy see, *Laws,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XXIX, Sects. VIII-IX, " And, whereas, it is represented, that several of the recruits engaged by classes under the said acts, instead of receiving the money agreed on, have accepted bonds, notes, or engagements, from such class, or from some of the persons thereof, for the money or part of the money agreed for, and the class, or person entering into such engagement, have since refused to pay the money due [". . .] Also see *Laws,* October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sects. XII-XIII, " And, whereas scandalous frauds and abuses have been heretofore committed by some persons, . . . engaging recruits for small sums, and turning them over for exorbitant sums. . ."

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF GEORGE H. CALVERT[1] (1825)

By Ida G. Everson

"Keep my letters from America," wrote George Henry Calvert on September 13, 1825, to his uncle in Antwerp. Young Calvert's stay at the University of Göttingen was growing so short that forwarding his mail was no longer necessary. He could soon read it under his uncle's roof. Charles Stier[2] doubtless watched with satisfaction the growing pile of American letters; they were a kind of guarantee that George would soon be with him. And it is to Stier's credit that he kept some other letters as well—letters which his nephew had written to him from Germany. He may have treasured them simply because they were composed by a young relative of whom he was extremely fond; but, as a connoisseur of art objects, he may also have had a collector's "hunch" that these sketches of life in Germany might some day be of significance.

Perhaps tucked away in the pigeon-holes of some old escritoire in the great house on the "rue de l'Hôpital," these letters, six in number and one short note, withstood many cycles of Belgian housecleaning, and, after an extended sojourn in a depository in London, arrived in America in 1938,[3] one hundred and thirteen years after they were originally written. It is regrettable that the many letters, some of them nine pages long, which Calvert wrote to relatives and friends in America during his long stay in Ger-

[1] Born at Mount Airy, Prince George's Co., Md., Jan. 2, 1803; died in Newport, R. I., May 24, 1889.

[2] Charles Stier was the brother of Calvert's mother, Rosalie Stier Calvert.

[3] The originals of the letters printed below were lent to the writer in 1938, by their owner, the late Hon. John Ridgely Carter, of Paris, France, a great-grandson of Rosalie Stier Calvert. Mr. Carter's heirs, a son and daughter, Mr. Bernard Shirley Carter and Caroline Mildred Countess of Gosford, have recently presented the letters to Columbia University Library as a permanent gift.

many [4] have not been preserved, or at least have not come to light after a rather intensive search of more than fifteen years.

If the letter which Calvert wrote to his uncle from Weimar on April 11, 1825, is representative, his complete correspondence during this period would be very valuable today in helping to re-create an exciting era in the life of American students pioneering in Germany—an era which the jottings-on-the-spot of such writers as George Ticknor have partially reproduced with tantalizing incompleteness.

When, in the summer of 1823, Calvert left the Maryland plantations of his forefathers to travel and to study at the University of Göttingen, the first from his native state to enroll there,[5] he took a step uncommon enough in that day to give historical value to any letters which he might write during the period that followed. But the letters which he sent to his uncle from Weimar, Göttingen, and Bonn have other values besides the historical. They have a kind of genealogical interest as well, for Calvert was a great-grandson of Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore.[6] And on his mother's side he was descended from Peter Paul Rubens.[7] His mother, Rosalie Stier Calvert, was born in Antwerp, the daughter of Henri Joseph Stier, who fled from Belgium to America, in June, 1794, just before the French occupation of Antwerp, bringing with him his entire family and his remarkable collection of Old World paintings, a collection which may have included some of the canvases of his famous Flemish ancestor.[8] Furthermore, the letters deserve notice if for no other reason than that they were written by a spirited youth of twenty-two, who had recently come to Germany, fresh from the rhetoric classes of Edward Tyrrel Channing. As an undergraduate at Harvard, Calvert had been praised by this relentless teacher of composition,[9] thereby winning a place for himself in

[4] Calvert arrived in Göttingen in January, 1824, and left on September 24, 1825. After a trip on the Rhine, he reached his uncle's home on October 8, 1825.

[5] See Ida G. Everson, *George Henry Calvert, American Literary Pioneer* (N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 75.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 7, and 152.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 244-245 (note 62).

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13 and 244 (notes 61-62).

[9] " Professor Edward Channing would now and then compliment me for composition, and I took a prize for declamation." G. H. Calvert, *Autobiographic Study*, p. 143 (a photostatic copy of this book, in page proof, is in Special Collections, Columbia University Library).

the long list of Channing's pupils, who, having merited his commendation, went forth to leave their imprint on American letters.[10]

If Calvert's epistolary style is at times a little stiff, a little pompous—if the "turgid rhetoric"[11] flows too easily from his pen—these defects must not be attributed to Professor Channing's negligence. The broad ocean now rolled between Calvert and his teacher. The pupil was not now writing for academic approval; he was trying to impress his uncle with the fact that he had bravely endured the rigors of German university-discipline and had come out victorious. Then, too, he was writing hastily during a crowded semester (witness a few misspelled words), and the studies which he had been pursuing in Göttingen had not been conducive to the cultivation of a light and buoyant style. On the other hand, compared with the labored efforts of his later years, when Channing's blue pencil had been all but forgotten, these letters have now and then a refreshing breeziness, which Calvert seems to have lost in the scholarly seclusion of his Newport study. The scraps of concrete imagery, the evident appreciation of natural scenery, the schoolboy candor, the restraint in describing a dinner with the Grand Duke, the assiduous pursuit of Latin, even when it was not a required subject—all hint at a fundamental fineness and firmness of character, which must have gone a long way towards arousing Channing's interest and invoking his praise.

The chief significance of the letters lies, however, in their connection with early German-American literary relationships, for George Henry Calvert was to become the first American to complete a translation of a drama by Schiller,[12] the first to translate a volume of the Schiller-Goethe correspondence,[13] and the first to write a biography of Goethe.[14]

[10] See Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England 1815-1865* (N. Y., 1936), p. 43.

[11] Quoted from O. W. Holmes in Brooks, *The Flowering of New England,* p. 43.

[12] *Don Carlos; A Dramatic Poem,* by Frederick Schiller. Translated from the German, by the author of "A Volume from the Life of Herbert Barclay," (Baltimore: William & Joseph Neal, 1834).

[13] *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe, from 1794 to 1805.* Translated by George H. Calvert. Vol. I (New York and London: Wiley and Putnam, 1845).

[14] *Goethe: His Life and Works.* By George H. Calvert. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, Publishers. New York: Lee, Shepard and Dillingham, 1872).

The letters appearing below, for the first time printed in full,[15] were written to Calvert's uncle, Charles Jean Stier. With the exception of the note of July 26, 1825, apparently delivered in person by an acquaintance, they all bore the address of Stier's home in Antwerp, " rue de l'Hôpital à Anvers Pays Bas."

Weimar April 11th 1825

My dear Uncle,

I have deferred writing to you for so long that I find myself nearly at the end of my vacation.—I shall begin my letter with the beginning of my journey.—I set out from Gött. on Saturday the 19 March and arrived at Gotha the evening of the same day—By means of a letter of introduction to a professor in Gotha (a professor of the Gymnasium) I was introduced to the club at which all the Literati Statesmen etc etc of the *ci-devant* sovereignty of Gotha assemble every evening to play cards and smoke pipes.—I revisited the palace and saw the paintings which have been since then arranged. The cabinet of medals I saw of which you recollect we heard so much and which is well worth being seen. The Library is interesting on account of many old manuscripts—I saw one of the Bible ornamented with paintings which appeared to me to be of first merit and regreted [*sic*] that you had not seen it—You recollect the gentleman who was so polite in showing us the pictures (a Mr *Küfner*[?]) he recognized me when I mentioned having been in Gotha 6 months before with you and my aunt and requested me to present his compliments to you.—However I will not detain you any longer in Gotha in which I remained 6 days reading in my room in the morning, talking to strange people at the Table d'Hôte and visiting the club in the Evening—Seven hours after my departure from Gotha I found myself passing by the ruins of the Theatre of Weimar—In spite however of the loss of what was the principal inducement for my coming to this place I have passed 2 weeks very agreably [16] in it, and shall pass one more equally so.—Immediately after my arrival I met with a student of Göttingen [17] whom I had there known, and who was passing his vacation with his relations at Weimar—By his politeness I was immediately introduced to the principal personages of the place and like all other strangers, (who are treated with particular kindness by the court), I was invited on the Sunday following (every Sunday there is a court dinner and strangers are always invited as a matter of course) to dine with the Grand Duchess—the company consisted of the court Ladies many of the first Dignitaries etc of the Dukedom and 8 or 10 Englishmen who like myself enjoy the hospitality of Weimar.—the Grand Duke was unwell and I did not see him on the first day of my presentation—yesterday however—the second Dinner at which I have attended I had the honor

[15] Brief extracts from the letters were used in *George Henry Calvert,* a doctoral dissertation by Ida G. Everson (Columbia University Press, 1944).

[16] Calvert misspelled " agreeably " and " agreeable " in all of these letters.

[17] I have not been able to identify this student.

of being in due form presented to him.[18]—I assure you it is much more comfortable being a partaker of a court Dinner—than a spectator of one—particularly where the enjoyment of the dinner and of what is more important the society with whom it is enjoyed is attended with so little ceremony as is the case at Weimar.—There are an unusual number of handsome *unmarried* ladies for the size of the place and from the deficiency of native *beaus,* foreign ones are received with peculiar favour—In so small a town, as in all small towns there is great sociability; however I have to complain of the same custom here, which you recollect I found so unnatural in Antwerp viz. that a young gentleman is never allowed to say any thing to an unmarried lady without witnesses to the conversation—now as we Americans don't allow ourselves to be taken at one blow by the ladies, are not given to falling in love at first sight, nor indeed after repeated sights but only when more than the eyes are captivated, I must . . .[19] remain, where this custom prevails, a *general* admirer; and as a general admiration of the ladies is not sufficient to alter previous plans, the beauty of Weimar shall not be able to break my resolution of returning to Göttingen before the end of the vacation, and I shall, conformably to my determination before leaving it which I mentioned to you in my last letter, find myself on Wednesday the 22d. comfortably seated at my studying table preparing for my last semester.— —I shall attend a court Ball which is to be given on Thursday and one more Dinner on the Sunday following at which I shall see nearly the same company as at the other two.[20]—I intended to have written to Eugenia [21] from Weimar, but have put it off untill my return to Göttingen.—I pass Eisenach on my return near which is one of the most beautiful situations in Germany—I suppose you are about moving into the country.[22]—With assurance of the warmest affection for my dear aunt and yourself believe me my dear uncle your affect neph George H. Calvert

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May 27th. Göttingen—

My dear Uncle,

I dare say you think that instead of returning to Göttingen I made a journey from Weimar to Constantinople as I have been so neglectful as to let several weeks pass without writing to you.—I intended to write from Weimar to my dear sister Eugenia but not having had resolution enough to do so I considered it my duty to return to Göttingen to give her a long account of my stay at W. and it is owing to the slowness with

[18] An account of Calvert's meeting with the Duke is given in G. H. Calvert, *First Years in Europe* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1866), pp. 189-190. Calvert had been a spectator, with his uncle, at a court dinner in Dresden (*ibid.*, pp. 138-141).

[19] The MS is torn here, making a word illegible.

[20] An account is given in *First Years in Europe,* p. 197.

[21] Calvert's sister.

[22] Charles Stier's country home, "Cleydael," was situated about six miles from Antwerp.

which I have written the enclosed 9 pages [23] to her that I have not before this answered your last letter.—I returned to Gött. agreably to my previous resolution on the 21 April, 2 weeks before my lectures commenced and by doing so gained much time.—I have now only 2 regular courses per day, the one Blumenbach's [24] natural History, the other the History of the Arts with a professor Müller [25]—besides these I have twice a week the History of German Literature.—I have a private instructor (and an excellent one) in Latin and continue my private lessons in German with Mr. Benecke [26]—You thus see that I have enough to keep me fully occupied.—I have sold my horse and taken again to walking, and enjoy perfect health in spite of the bad weather.—I had resolved that this letter should be a long one but as I am so very tardy with my letter to America, I must postpone the execution of my resolution to the next.—I am trying to profit as much as possible from my last 3 months in Germany—Time passes with unaccountable rapidity and in a very short time I shall again have the pleasure of seeing you and my dear aunt.—Your most affectn. nephew George H Calvert

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July 1st. 1825 Göttingen—

My dear Uncle,

I am quite ashamed of myself for not having written to you sooner but have been delaying it in order to be able to inclose to you several letters to America I find however that I can only get one finished and shall in 8 days write to you again inclosing two more.—You remind me in your last that I should write to Father requesting a letter to Mr. Hartford [*sic*]; [27] I had written to him making this request six months ago and in his last letter he mentions that he would certainly send me one.—I am now very much occupied with Latin & German—My latin teacher is remarkably good.—The lectures on Archaeology are very interesting and will soon be more so as the young professor who has studied the subject thoroughly and seen the Elgin marbles at London will in a few days commence with sculpture.—The Library is well provided with the finest prints the most interesting of which he shows and explains to us—Old Mr. Blumenbach makes the subject of Natural History even

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[23] The nine pages have not come to light.

[24] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, born May 11, 1752; died in Göttingen, Jan. 22, 1840.

[25] Karl Otfried Müller, Professor of Classical Philology and Archaeology, born Aug. 28, 1797; died in Athens, Aug. 1, 1840.

[26] George Friedrich Benecke, born June 10, 1762; died in Göttingen, Aug. 21, 1844.

[27] "Hartford" appears to be an incorrect spelling of "Harford" (see G. H. Calvert's letter of September 13, 1825, below). Henry Harford was a natural son of Frederick Calvert, sixth and last Lord Baltimore, who dying in 1771, willed the province of Maryland to his son. Harford and George Henry Calvert's father were first cousins.

more interesting than it is of itself by the relation of amusing anecdotes, which are to be sure sometimes more amusing than instructive.—Mr. Heeren [28] I hav'nt [*sic*] seen for some time but am expecting an invitation from him soon to a supper party.—I have made two excursions to the Plesse and the neighboring spring with a party of Ladies (Mr. Laffert's family) [29] and am going tomorrow evening to take tea with them.—I have fixed the 20 September for the time of my departure from Göttingen and shall go through Frankfort as far as Heidelberg and then down the Rhine to Cologne.—I shall probably not reach Antwerp before the 10th. of October—I look forward my dear uncle with the most delightful anticipation to the time of my seeing you and my aunt again and shall have much to talk about.—I am afraid that father is not yet so fixed as he says he is in his resolution to come to Europe.—In 8 days I shall inclose to you a letter for him.—I have received in the last month several letters from America by way of Hamburg.—I promise not to be in future so neglectful and with the assurance of the sincerest affection I subscribe myself

George H Calvert

Göttingen July 26th.—1825

My dear Uncle,

I had a letter half finished lying on my desk to my father when I was an hour agreably surprised by Mr Moretus [?] [30] and another gentleman who very kindly came to see me and offered to take a letter to you,—I have not time to write a long one as I intended as they are desirous of leaving Göttingen immediately—I shall write soon again—until which time I remain your most affectionate nephew.—

George H. Calvert

Göttingen August 15th. 1825—

My dear Uncle,

A few days ago I receiv'd your letter from Brussels written, you mentioned in it, on your way to Spa.—You will probably have left Antwerp before the return of Mssrs. Moretus [?] & Huelens [?] [31] whom I saw some time ago in Göttingen and to whom I gave a few lines for you inclosing a letter for America.—I have protracted my stay in Göttingen

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[28] Arnold Heeren, born Aug. 25, 1760; died Mar. 6, 1842.

[29] For further mention of Mr. Laffert's family, see *First Years in Europe,* pp. 88-89 and 100; and *George Henry Calvert,* pp. 74 and 76.

[30] Unidentified. This letter is addressed to "Monsieur C. J. Stier.—politesse de Mr. Moretus—."

[31] Unidentified.

for a few days and shall probably not leave it before the first of October, and by this means I shall reach the Rhine at the most favorable season, that of the vintage.—I am now employing myself particularly with Latin and German—Of German I am now completely master, and shall before I leave Gött. have made a good *rebeginning* in Latin [32] which I shall continue with zeal at Edinburg. I have had an agreable addition to my number of acquaintances by the arrival of a countryman, Dwight [33] his name, who came directly from Paris, and was able to give me some interesting information concerning several of my acquaintances who are in Europe.—I am glad that I have but a few weeks more to stay at Göttingen for I have got or rather am getting tired of it.—This I may safely acknowledge now having shown so much perseverance in continuing in it thus long.—I look forward with great pleasure to my getting into the active world of England and shall benefit much more from it for having remained so long as it were in retirement. And it is by no means the least agreable prospect which my leaving Göttingen presents, that it will be immediately followed by my seeing you and my dear aunt again—My aunt I trust will not find me so *sérieux* as when I first arrived from America—It will be very interesting to me to see so many old friends and acquaintances but I dare say I shall have forgotten the names of some of them—I must look over my list of cousins which you gave me.—I have not for some time had a letter from America, and hope soon to receive several from different parts of it—I shall be several hundred miles nearer home in Edinburg than in Göttingen.—You will probably not be more than a few weeks absent from Antwerp on your excursion to Aix la Chapelle and Spa, so that this will perhaps find you returned.—Give my most affectionate regards to my aunt and believe me my dear Uncle—your affectionate nephew.—

George H Calvert

Göttingen September 13th. 1825

My dear Uncle,—

I am much obliged to you for inclosing me a letter from my father. It was the first I had received from America for several weeks—He speaks now very positively of coming to Europe, but of that we will speak when I have the pleasure of seeing you again, which will be within a month.—My dear father inclosed me a letter of introduction for our relation in England Mr. Harford.—I sent off today a Box of books and one of my trunks, having taken Mr. Borneman's [33] advice about the best mode of

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[32] "I entered college not well grounded in Greek and Latin, and these—the Mediaeval practice still prevailing—were primary in all colleges. The deficiency in Germantown was not made good in Cambridge, and so I brought away little more Latin and Greek than I carried in." G. H. Calvert, *Autobiographic Study,* p. 143.

[33] Henry Dwight, son of the President of Yale. See *First Years in Europe,* pp. 110-111.

[34] Unidentified.

conveyance—they will travel very slowly and won't probable [*sic*] reach Antwerp sooner than I shall.—I propose to leave Göttingen about the 22d. for Frankfort—wether [*sic*] I shall go as far as Heidelberg or Strasburg I have not yet determined—I am very busy and you must excuse me for [*sic*] writing a long letter, particularly as I shall so soon have a much more agreable means of communication than by paper.—remember me most affectionately to my dear aunt—shall I find Mr. A. Ertborn[34] at Antwerp. Keep my letters from America

Your afft nephew George H. Calvert

Bonn October 1st 1825 Saturday

My dear Uncle,

I have arrived thus far on my journey in safety and look with delightful anticipation to the end of the following week by which time I expect to reach Antwerp. I have had a very pleasant journey and was so fortunate as to meet with my old acquaintance Watson[35] (you remember him at Dresden) in Frankfort with whom I have made the voyage down the Rhine to this place.—We shall remain here 3 or 4 days spend a day in Cologne and another in Aix la Chapelle—Watson is on his way to Paris and I think I shall be able to persuade him to make a détour of 2 days through Antwerp in order to see Rubens' paintings.—I cannot say exactly the day on which I shall reach Antwerp but suppose between the 8 & 11—you know from experience what a task it is to write a long letter whilst on a journey and will no doubt excuse me for not going beyond this page. Watson is sitting at the table opposite me and requests me to give you his respects.—I shall see you and my dear aunt in a few days untill when I remain your aff. neph. George H Calvert

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[35] Charles Stier's second wife was Eugenie Catherine Van Ertborn.

[36] Seth B. Watson, friend and pupil of Coleridge (see *George Henry Calvert,* pp. 79, 83, 94, 96, and 131).

A HOUSE DIVIDED—THE CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES ON THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL, 1861-1865

By Walter S. Sanderlin

To most Americans the mention of "Maryland" and "Civil War" promptly brings to mind a picture of divided loyalties, accompanied by vivid images of Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1861, and of Barbara Frietchie. It is both significant and appropriate that two of the most memorable episodes associated with the history of Maryland during the critical years of the Republic should illustrate the extremes of the confusion of sentiment which characterized the state as a whole.

Concerning the basic events of the 19th of April there is little question, although the details and interpretations of the incident vary greatly. Ever since John Greenleaf Whittier captured and preserved the spirit and details of the Frietchie legend,[1] however, there have been repeated assertions of doubt as to its literal accuracy. Some writers have professed, and the evidence is convincing, that the route of the Confederate troops through Frederick did not pass the house from which Dame Frietchie is reputed to have hung the Stars and Stripes and from which she hurled her defiance to the "rebel hordes." It is claimed in particular that General Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson certainly did not receive and bow to her challenge.[2]

The destroyers of this quaint tale, however, have missed the point of the episode if they believe that by disproving this incident they have denied the validity of the basic thesis. The Frietchie legend, like the events of the 19th of April, is at once

[1] "Barbara Frietchie," *Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier* (new revised edition, Boston, 1874), p. 270. The other quotations are from the same poem.

[2] See, for example, the Baltimore *Sun*, April 24 and May 15, 1875. More recently several historians have presented irrefutable arguments denying the reported episode.

a recognition and an illustration of the fundamental split in the loyalties of sincere Marylanders which the Civil War caused. The emotionalism and unrest, the internecine strife, and the outbursts of extremism were symptoms of the confusion of allegiance and the resultant tension in the border states during the war.

Nevertheless, if skeptics insist upon specific events to prove the obvious fact, there are undoubtedly many incidents that might be used as examples. There has recently come to light ample evidence of divided loyalties on a wide scale in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. This new material clearly substantiates the very characteristics which the afore-mentioned episodes illustrate.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was one of Maryland's proudest achievements in the first half of the nineteenth century.[3] Originally intended to connect the District of Columbia (and Baltimore, by means of a branch canal) with the Ohio River at Pittsburgh, it had been completed by the outbreak of the Civil War only as far as Cumberland. After the momentary enthusiasm for the project had passed, a hostile national administration had refused further federal aid to the undertaking. The state of Maryland had then come to the rescue and had heavily financed the unexpectedly costly work until it had reached the Queen City of the Alleghenies in 1850, after expending almost $14,000,000.

Along with Maryland's financial support had come state control of the enterprise. Domination of the canal company in turn had brought about the conditions which made possible political interference in the operation of the waterway. At an early date it became the practice of the state parties to use the numerous positions on the waterway to reward loyal supporters. Soon each alternation in the political control of the state brought sweeping changes in canal personnel. The cohorts of the out-going party were removed, and friends of the incoming group appointed.[4]

[3] For a more detailed account of Maryland's relation to the canal, see Walter S. Sanderlin, *The Great National Project. A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal,* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIV (1946), No. 1 (Baltimore, 1946), especially chapters V ("Maryland Assumes Control") and X ("Vicissitudes of War and Peace").

[4] Large-scale turnovers of canal employees occurred in 1852, 1855, 1856, 1858, 1860, and 1862. Proceedings of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, Journal H, 537-540 (July 15, 1852); I, 180-181 (June 30, 1855); I, 278-282 (June 27, 1856); K, 6-19 (March 31 and April 15, 1858); K, 183-184 (May 6, 1860) and 192-193 (June 2, 1860); and K, 273-275 (February

Thus both the officials and the employees of the company became closely connected personally and spiritually with the political complexion of the state.

It would not be surprising then if the attitudes and experiences of canal officials and employees during the war reflect with peculiar intensity the combined impact of confusion among the citizenry of Maryland and, especially, in political circles. Scores of letters, reports, and other company records confirm that this condition was characteristic of the canal's staff. Even before the outbreak of war sentiment was becoming divided. In January, 1861, Lawrence J. Brengle, a member of the board of directors and a former president of the Canal Company, expressed sympathy for the Confederate cause. He noted also the division of sentiment in his home town, Frederick, and expressed anxiety for the future position and course of the state.[5]

The outbreak of hostilities in April confirmed his fears for his state. The failure of Maryland to secede made the Potomac River (and hence the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal which paralleled it) the frontier between the opposing sides. Thereafter, the canal and the state prospered and suffered according to the fortunes of the war. The conflict of loyalties within the state also fluctuated with the success or failure of the contending armies. In either case the state experienced an overall loss.

In view of the effect of military strategy and campaigns on the sympathies of Marylanders, a brief summary of the ebb and flow of battle is of value. Federal defenses along the border were never entirely adequate,[6] although troops eventually were stationed along the river to the great discomfiture of the inhabitants.[7]

12, 1862). The Proceedings of the Directors are in manuscript form and are deposited among the records of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company in the Department of Interior Archives of the National Archives, Washington, D. C. These manuscripts, including letter books, correspondence, ledgers, etc., will be cited as Canal Papers.

[5] L. J. Brengle to W. S. Ringgold, Clerk, January 1, 1861, Canal Papers.

[6] Washington *National Inetlligencer,* July 15, 1864. The *Intelligencer* of this date contains a masterly and devastating summary and criticism of the administration for its lack of an effective Shenandoah policy.

[7] A. Spates, President, to Ringgold, July 20, 24, 1861; R. Jones, Superintendent, to Ringgold, October 5, 1861; S. P. Smith, Collector, to Ringgold, October 23, 1861; Jones to President and Directors, November 11, 1861; A. Spates to General George B. McClellan, November 24, 1861; L. Lowe, Superintendent, to Ringgold, March 8, 1862; Lowe to A. Spates, March 12, 1862; A. C. Greene, Director, to Ringgold, August 4, 1862; A. K. Stake, General Superintendent, to President and Directors, November 3, 1862; Jacob Miller to Ringgold, November 3, 1862; G.

Hence for a major part of the war along the Potomac frontier the initiative remained with the Confederates. In the early years there were frequent raids across the river designed primarily to disrupt federal communications and disturb Northern equanimity. Thus one of the principal activities of the raiders was to destroy canal facilities so as to interrupt navigation.[8] The same type of destruction occurred during the large-scale invasions in September, 1862, and June and July, 1863.[9] For the most part the damage was limited to the simpler methods necessary to stop trade on the waterway, such as cutting the banks. The heavier, more expensive masonry works—walls, locks, culverts, aqueducts, and dams—were relatively untouched.[10] Apparently the South was still hoping that Maryland would secede and that their cause would triumph. Confederate partisans therefore sought to avoid unnecessary damage to a work that might be of use to them, and tried not to alienate secessionist sentiment in the pivotal state.

It was during this early part of the war, when the military decision was still in doubt, that the first evidences of divided loyalties appeared in the ranks of the canal employees. Former president Brengle apparently became more discreet in the expression of his sentiments after the beginning of war, or else he changed his mind. The wartime president of the company, Alfred Spates, was not so discreet. His conduct brought down upon him the suspicion of the federal government on account of his reported rebel sympathies. His relations with the Confederates during their two invasions of Maryland were particu-

Spates, Superintendent, to President and Directors, January 1, 1863; L. Benton, Superintendent, to President and Directors, January 1, 1863; Canal Papers. See also E. B. Swanson to A. B. Cammerer, October 26, 1938, National Capital Parks, File 1460 (Chesapeake and Ohio Canal), in the Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

[8] Baltimore *American,* June 11, 1861; Washington *Evening Star,* June 11 and 14, 1861; A. Spates to Ringgold, June 13, August 13, 1861; A. K. Stake to A. Spates, June 26, July 6, 1861; S. P. Smith to Ringgold, October 23, 1861; Canal Papers.

[9] G. Spates to Ringgold, September 13, October 6, November 26, 1862; J. Masters, Superintendent, to Ringgold, September 22, 1862; A. Spates to Ringgold, October 6, 1862; T. Hassett, Superintendent, to Ringgold, October 14, 1862; L. Lowe to Ringgold, June 30, 1863; G. Spates to President and Directors, June 30, 1863; Masters to Ringgold, July 19, 1863; H. Miller, Collector, to Ringgold, July 22, 1863; A. C. Greene to Ringgold, July 25, 1863; Masters to President and Directors, August 4, 1863; Canal Papers.

[10] The few instances of serious damage reported were obviously the exceptions to the general policy pursued by the Confederates. See, for example, A. Spates to Ringgold, June 13, 1861; S. P. Smith to Ringgold, October 23, 1861; Canal Papers.

larly questionable. As a result, he was thrice arrested and detained by military authorities.[11] The confusion of loyalties extended down through all levels of canal employees. Attempts to blow up one of the canal's dams in 1861, raised doubt as to the collusion of some canallers sufficient to elicit a pamphlet by one of the canal's friends, energetically defending the latter from the charges.[12] The engineer in charge of the construction of a new masonry dam for the canal in the Potomac was also arrested for the same reasons as the president in 1863.[13] The superintendent of the Monocacy division of the canal was repeatedly accused of rebel sympathies and disloyal activities by the federal military authorities stationed along the canal and engaged in the construction of the Washington aqueduct.[14] Finally, there was some unrest growing out of the attempts to enforce the draft.[15] The opposition to this measure probably stemmed in part from lack of sympathy with the Northern cause.

Reports of loyal activities are naturally not so numerous as those of rebel sympathizers. Being the obvious and expected, they lacked the novelty that would attract public attention and serve to perpetuate them. That there were many episodes of Unionist demonstrations is amply indicated by the almost casual references to such incidents from time to time. As early as 1861 the boatmen and canallers were carrying on their occupations under dangerous conditions. There were frequent exchanges of shots between the pickets of both forces on either side of the river.[16] In one instance, a mule driver, a mere boy, was hit and wounded by the fire. It was also reported that Confederate troops amused themselves from time to time by drawing a bead on canal

[11] Baltimore *American,* September 3, 1863, and January 25, 1864; Fred Fickey, Jr., Maryland Board of Public Works, to Ringgold, September 1 and 3, 1863; Brengle to [Ringgold?], September 15, 1863; Greene to Ringgold, January 25, 1864; Canal Papers.

[12] *To the People of Maryland: The Canal and its Management Vindicated* (n. d). See also, A. K. Stake to A. Spates, July 6, 1861; Canal Papers.

[13] Washington *Evening Star,* September 2, 1863; Brengle to [Ringgold?], September 15, 1863; Stake to Brengle, September 17, 1863; Canal Papers.

[14] R. C. Bomford to Directors, August 28, 1862; Canal Papers. A long correspondence followed in which the charges were renewed from time to time.

[15] Ringgold to Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War, August 21, 1862, Letter Book M, p. 56; J. G. White, lockkeeper, to Board of Directors, April 10, 1863; G. Spates to Directors, October 30, 1864; Canal Papers.

[16] See, for example, A. K. Stake to A. Spates, June 26, July 6, 1861; A. Spates to Ringgold, October 6, 1862; A. K. Stake to Directors, November 3, 1862; G. Spates to Ringgold, June 12, 1863; Canal Papers.

workers seeking to repair the damage caused by rebel raiders.[17] This practice served to scatter the workers, discourage the more timid ones, and thus prolong the effects of the raids by delaying the restoration of navigation. Those who carried on under these conditions—boatmen and repair gangs alike—are among the many unsung and unremembered heroes of the war who risked their lives constantly in performing their everyday tasks.

After the set-back at Gettysburg, however, the Southern tide began to recede. And as hopes of ultimate success fell, and expectations of Maryland's eventual secession went unrealized, the danger to the canal increased. Confederate raids, led by Jubal Early, John S. Mosby, and Elijah V. White, if somewhat less frequent and of shorter duration, became more destructive of canal property. Locks were damaged and at least one aqueduct was blown up.[18] It is true that even in 1861 there had been attempts to blow up one of the dams in the river, but these had been unsuccessful. On the other hand the destruction engaged in now was deliberate and more widespread. Boat-burning and mule-stealing became so frequent in 1864 as to overshadow completely the isolated instances of this practice in the preceding years. According to available reports at least sixty boats were destroyed in this fashion in 1864, seriously handicapping the trade on the waterway. There were also many reports from boatmen of stolen teams.

Equally as important as the physical destruction of the boats was the terror which these activities spread among the boatmen. The latter, fearing for their investments in boats and teams, and even in fear of their lives (although there are no reports of violence to persons during the raids), refused to venture out on the canal, causing a more serious interruption in the flow of the vital coal trade from western Maryland to the National Capital.[19] Thus the effects of the raids and threats of raids lingered long after the actual danger had passed.

[17] A. K. Stake to A. Spates, July 6, 1861; Canal Papers.

[18] Letters to Ringgold from the following: A. Spates, July 5, 1864; G. Spates, July 16, 1864; Masters, July 18, 1864; Miller, July 18, 1864; L. Benton, July 20, 1864; L. Lowe, July 25, 1864; A. C. Greene, September 2, 1864; and G. Spates, October 16, 1864. See also, G. Spates to President and Directors, July 25, 1864; Greene to A. Spates, September 29, 1864; and Masters to President and Directors, October 3, 1864; Canal Papers.

[19] Greene to Ringgold, September 2, 1864; Greene to A. Spates, September 29, 1864; G. Spates to Ringgold, October 16, 1864; Canal Papers.

It was during the terrifying raids of 1864 and under the conditions described that the most spectacular instance of the expression of Federal sympathies occurred. Mrs. Neill, a humble canal employee, single-handedly repulsed one band of Confederate raiders from across the Potomac. In the service of a company whose officers were themselves divided in loyalties—as were also the citizens of the state in which she resided—Mrs. Neill was quite certain as to her own sentiments. She also knew her position in terms of the conflict raging about her. Furthermore, she had no fear of the raiders from across the river, the mere reports of whose activities were sufficient to drive trade from the waterway and scatter the boatmen in a scramble for safety. The houseboat over which she held sway as the highly prized cook of a company repair gang was her castle. No warriors of either side would drive her from it and burn it to the water's edge.

While Confederate bands were engaged in their recently developed sport of boat-burning, during a raid in July, 1864, a group of them came upon Mrs. Neill's houseboat.[20] Here indeed was a prize worth taking, for without the houseboat how could the repair crew be kept together and on the job? The soldiers entered the boat and ordered all persons to leave it to avoid bloodshed. They announced their intention to destroy the boat. Mrs. Neill not only refused to budge; she challenged the Rebels to burn the boat with her on it. She successfully overawed the invaders and drove the bewildered troopers from the boat.

Discount the story as much as you wish. Impute whatever motives you wish to the Confederate raiders for retreating before the onslaught, verbal or physical, of the doughty cook. Theorize at will concerning the reasons which left her houseboat unharmed by the raid. The fact remains that while boats in the canal on both sides of the Neill castle burned merrily, fed by their cargoes of coal, the only boat unscathed on that section of the canal during the most destructive raid of the year was the houseboat on which " a mere woman " had the audacity to defy the " Rebel hordes."

[20] G. Spates to [Ringgold?], July, 1864. In his report, Superintendent Spates notes that the Confederates " entered the house boat for the purpose of setting it on fire and but for the resolute and determined manner in which Mrs Niell [*sic*] the cook in charge of the boat defended the boat it would have been burnt . . ."

The heroic act of Mrs. Neill is a fitting climax to the story of the conflict of loyalties on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal during the Civil War. Insofar as the confusion of sentiment on the canal reflects the situation among Marylanders as a group—as it undoubtedly does—the summary of the canal's experiences has general interest. The conditions which produced a Mrs. Neill for the waterway produced the emotional outbursts of the 19th of April and the Frietchie legend for the state as a whole.

AMERICAN TIES WITH ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, LONDON

By the Editor

Among the many London churches all but destroyed in attacks from the air is one which has special interest for Marylanders. This is All Hallows-by-the-Tower, in the City, founded in the seventh century. It possessed—and possesses, for a movement is underway to rebuild the shattered walls—particular associations with America.

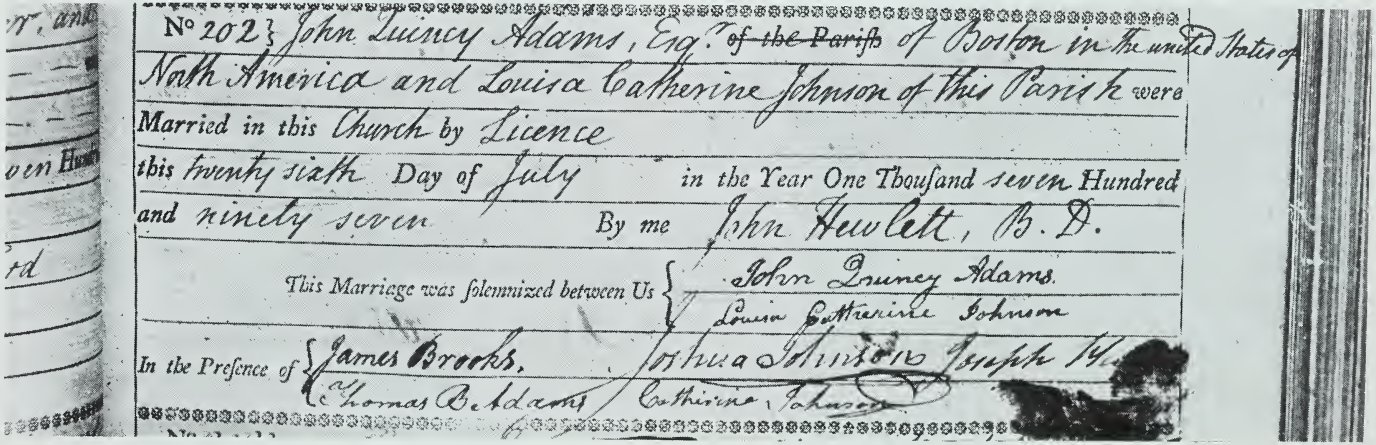
All Hallows was the scene of the marriage of John Quincy Adams and Louisa Catherine Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson of Maryland, American consul at London. The date was July 26, 1797. This was the union of representatives of two leading families of the New World. The family of the lady, though less conspicuous on the national stage than that of her husband, was nonetheless notable, for she was a niece of Thomas Johnson, an outstanding patriot and first governor of Maryland under the State Constitution. Other uncles were James and Baker Johnson, who with the Governor owned and operated the Catoctin and Bloomsbury Forges in Frederick Country. Her father was born, as were the Governor and all of his ten brothers and sisters, in Calvert County. He went to London in 1771 to represent the Annapolis merchant firm of Wallace, Davidson and Johnson. There he wedded Catherine Nuth, daughter of a London family.

When war came he took refuge in France where he served as American agent. Some years later, President Washington appointed him first United States consul to London.[1] Many of Johnson's letters during his early years in London are found in

[1] Edward S. Delaplaine, "The Life of Thomas Johnson," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV, 33 (March, 1919) *et sequens*, especially p. 48. Judge Delaplaine's biography also appeared in book form under the same title (New York: Grafton Press, 1927).

All Hallows-by-the-Tower, 1940.
View of the East End after the first bomb fell.

North Aisle of All Hallows, 1945.
The rubble has been covered with concrete to preserve treasured memorials beneath. Flower tubs mark sites of former pillars.



No 202 John Quincy Adams, Esq. ~~of the Parish~~ of Boston in the united States of North America and Louisa Catherine Johnson of this Parish were Married in this Church by Licence this twenty sixth Day of July in the Year One Thousand seven Hundred and ninety seven By me John Hewlett, B. D.

This Marriage was solemnized between Us { John Quincy Adams. / Louisa Catherine Johnson

In the Presence of { James Brooks. / Thomas B. Adams } Joshua Johnson Joseph Hu[illegible] / Catherine Johnson

Marriage of John Quincy Adams and Louisa Catherine Johnson as entered in Register of All Hallows-by-the-Tower.

the letter books of his firm, now in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.[2] They are, of course, concerned with business affairs of the firm, but occasional comments reveal a personality alert, witty and satirical.

Adams had been much in Europe, as student and as secretary to his father. In 1794, he was appointed Minister to Holland and thereafter had occasion to visit London from time to time. His Diary for November 11, 1795, records that he dined with the Johnson family on that day. The following spring he and Miss Johnson were betrothed, but duty obliged him to return to The Hague. The marriage, more than a year later, is laconically recorded in the Diary:

> July 26th—At nine this morning I went, accompanied by my brother, to Mr. Johnson's and thence to the Church of the parish of All Hallows Barking, where I was married to Louisa Catherine Johnson, the second daughter of Joshua and Catherine Johnson, by Mr. Hewlett, Mr. Johnson's family, Mr. Brooks, my brother, and Mr. J. Hall were present. We were married before eleven in the morning, and immediately after went out to see Tilney House, one of the splendid country seats for which this country is distinguished.[3]

The tight-lipped Adams vouchsafes no further information. Soon afterward he went as Plenipotentiary to the Court of Prussia. His mother, then in Washington, wrote her sister, Mrs. Richard Cranch, of Braintree, Massachusetts:

> Since I wrote you last I have Letters from my sons abroad . . . [Thomas] has consented to go to Berlin with his Brother . . . He says since I wrote you last, ["] my Brother has been married and given me an amiable and accomplished sister. He is very happy and I doubt not will remain so, for the Young Lady has much sweetness of Temper and seems to Love as she ought.["] Thomas speaks highly of the Family and of their kindness and attention to him, says they are about to embark for America & settle in the city of Washington, where Mr. Johnson has property. They will be an agreeable acquisition to the city at which I rejoice.[4]

"Young John Adams' negotiations [said the Boston *Chronicle*] have terminated in a Marriage Treaty with an English lady, the

[2] Information kindly supplied by Mrs. William F. Bevan.

[3] Charles F. Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874) I, 199-200.

[4] "New Letters of Abigail Adams, 1788-1801," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 55, Pt. 1 (April, 1945), p. 222.

daughter of one Mr. Johnson, on Tower-Hill. It is a happy circumstance that he has made no other Treaty." [5]

The Johnsons were parishioners of All Halloes Barking, to use the old name of the church, as doubtless were also the Nuths. Mrs. J. Q. Adams played a creditable part opposite her accomplished, if not too popular husband, and in various European capitals as well as in Washington acquitted herself with distinction. Her trials and successes have been chronicled in Benjamin Perley Poore's *Reminiscences* [6] and elsewhere. The register showing the Adams-Johnson marriage still exists.

Another item of American association with All Hallows Church is more curious. The baptismal records show that the rite of baptism was administered on October 23, 1644, to "William, son of William Penn and Margaret his wife." Thus the champion of Quakerism and founder of Pennsylvania came into the world under the sponsorship of All Hallows. Pepys in writing of the Great Fire (1666) credits Penn's father, Admiral Sir William Penn, with saving this church and the vicinity by sending shipworkers to fight the flames, though the "dyal" of All Hallows clock was melted. A bronze tablet was presented in 1911 by the Pennsylvania Society of New York to memorialize the name of Penn.

A Washington family connection with the Parish also exists through a tablet in Holy Trinity Chapel, Minories, a dependency of All Hallows, which was erected in memory of Colonel William Legge who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Washington, and niece of Lawrence, great-great-grandfather of George Washington. In consequence of this marriage Colonel Legge impaled the Washington arms upon his escutcheon. The device in glowing colors remained until the great blitz.

Adjacent as it is to the Tower of London, All Hallows has for centuries been a witness to events of major importance in Anglo-Saxon history, many of them tragic. The Crusaders Chapel memorializes one period of religious fervor; another chapel was founded by Edward I to contain the heart of Richard Coeur de Lion, buried beneath its altar; and in the Vicar's Vault Archbishop Laud was interred after his execution in the Tower.

Since World War I, All Hallows has been famous as the

[5] Quoted in James Truslow Adams, *The Adams Family* (N. Y., 1930), p. 120.
[6] Philadelphia: 1886, p. 27-28.

guild church of Toc H, the British devotional organization founded in Flanders trenches by the Vicar of this church, Rev. Philip B. Clayton.

The damage to All Hallows from bombing and fire was extensive but the tower and two walls remain. Three times between 1940 and 1944 the church and vicinity suffered under attacks. The rich memorials—windows, tablets, superb brasses and sculpture —are in fragments or entirely gone. The vicar and parish authorities have determined to restore this historic church which for nearly 1300 years has ministered to the East End of London. The campaign for funds for restoration is under way, assisted by devoted friends of the Vicar. Dowager Queen Mary is among the patrons and contributors and her name is to be borne by the new organ. Queen Elizabeth has promised to lay the foundation stone of the new work in May, 1948.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

[The Library of Congress:] "The Story Up to Now," By DAVID C. MEARNS. Chapter I in the *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress* . . . Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1946. p. 13-227.

The Congressional Library holds securely a unique place in the esteem and affection of the American people. To Marylanders it is a friendly neighbor. Even the man in the street has a vague idea and pride that it is not only the world's greatest as to material holdings, and is now housed in two immense and distinguished buildings, but is rendering indispensable services of high quality to official Washington and to the whole country.

It is unusual to review a section of a thick and forbidding annual government report, but the brilliant and absorbing story which fills 214 double column pages is a major contribution to American cultural history. It will surely be republished separately for general reading and enjoyment, and should then be appropriately illustrated.

There is something dramatic, imaginative, intriguing and significant on almost every page of this substantial account of a great American venture, beginning with Elbridge Gerry of "Gerrymander" fame, who in the first year of the first American Congress introduced the Act to create the Library, down to Archibald MacLeish, whose recent five years are already referrel to as "the passing of the comet."

Mr. Mearns, Director of the Library's Reference Department, recounts with notable discernment and clearly from extensive detective work among old records, the hopes and plans, the policies and controversies, the accomplishments and weaknesses of successive librarians for 150 years.

The occasion for writing this history came with a challenge from the House Appropriations Committee, when it failed to meet fully the Library's 1947 budget request. It asked that a "definite library policy be established," as between "the desire to build and maintain the largest library in the world," and that of maintaining a library primarily for the service of the Congress."

But the inspiring story as Mr. Mearns gives it, full of incident and humor and of appreciative understanding, leaves little doubt that this great library, like most others that are worth their salt, has grown to meet pressing public demands, and that Congress will bring in a verdict, not for a library functioning narrowly for the use of Congress alone—

its Legislative Reference Department is already so serving, and with note worthy success—but for a great National Library of far flung and beneficent activities, as it has already become under librarians Putnam, MacLeish and Evans.

When picturesque Ainsworth R. Spofford was creating the legend that his own head could carry the whereabouts of every book in the library, his own desk likewise held the fees received from the daily inflow of newly published books to be copyrighted. The inconsistency of a library where a copy of every American publication must be deposited for copyright record, with the purpose of operating a highpowered reference department to specially serve a group of legislators, could only be resolved by making both of them component parts of a greater whole.

This policy, of building a great cultural organism to serve government on all levels, groups and organizations in every field of human activity, libraries in every town, and to meet the needs of the individual citizen, ultimately by supplementing his local library, was the basis for the 40 years of inspiring leadership by Herbert Putnam before retirement in 1939. His alert resourcefulness and enthusiasm for discovery and acquisition brought phenomenal growth in collections, particularly of rare and worthwhile items for research. His personal knowledge of men and of books and of movements led him to commission scouts in every subject and every land. His creation of " chairs " for specialists on the library staff to advise and interpret, the national distribution of printed catalog cards, these were only a few landmarks in a memorable era.

The 5-year revolution in administrative organization and philosophy by Archibald MacLeish is a story in itself, detailed by Mr. MacLeish in the previous annual report but here summarized more objectively. Drawing on the experience of trained colleagues within and without the library, infused by his dynamic conviction of the power of books and ideas in a progressive society, the Library of Congress has taken a new position of leadership, has become more flexible, enthusiastic and competent within its own walls. Now, under Mr. Evans, it awaits enlarged funds to enter a new era of usefulness in a world which sorely needs its help.

Mr. Mearns' history is a delight to read, and it sets up a new model for all institutional histories.

JOSEPH L. WHEELER

Benson, Vermont.

The Ohio Company Papers, 1753-1817: Being Primarily Papers of the " Suffering Traders " of Pennsylvania. By KENNETH P. BAILEY. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1947. xi, 549 pp.

The documents in this volume relate to the vital frontier history of the United States, and are transcribed from the originals in the Etting Collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. They include papers dealing with western expansion and settlement, Indian trade, Anglo-French war-

fare, financial schemes and land speculation, political maneuverings, and other activities of the trans-Allegheny west.

The collection covers in general the following subjects: the papers of the "Suffering Traders" who had suffered losses in the Indian attacks of 1754 and 1763; materials of such western traders and speculators as George Croghan, William Trent, Barnard and Michael Gratz, John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, George Morgan, and others; Vandalia and Indiana Company documents; and a section of miscellaneous papers. Although most of these papers pertain to the two decades prior to the Revolution, in general the 1753-1817 period is included. Their arrangement in not strictly chronological, but after separation into groups covering specific subjects, by date within each group.

Before each of the more important groups of documents, Professor Bailey gives the necessary data to tie them in with the overall picture. The footnotes are valuable, including biographical sketches of the many frontiersmen whose names appear in the papers. The preface and introduction are scholarly and lucid, but one looks in vain for the connection between the title of the volume and its contents, since only the first four papers relate directly to the Ohio Company. The index is comprehensive, although not well edited; the four maps are rather indistinct; and the lithoprinting is at times poor.

Nevertheless, these documents will be welcomed by students of our trans-Allegheny west, revealing as they do the inside operations of those traders and land companies who had so tremendous an influence on our country during the last half of the eighteenth century. Professor Bailey is to be thanked for the service rendered future students by having these papers put into print.

HOWARD J. STROTT

Niles' Weekly Register: News Magazine of the Nineteenth Century. By NORVAL NEIL LUXON. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947. 337 pp. $5.00.

Niles' Weekly Register, one of the most influential journals of the nineteenth century was not only a newspaper which published items of national interest but it was also a periodical which printed official documents as well. With these standards in mind, Hezekiah Niles set out to make the *Register* a work of increasing value with the passage of the years. Not only did he usually present both sides of a controversial issue but he never allowed the fear of public displeasure of his policies to alter his editorial course. This book, therefore, when viewed with these facts in mind, proves to be a character sketch of its first publisher and most important owner, Hezekiah Niles.

Mr. Luzon analyzes Niles' treatment of the most important issues of the first half of nineteenth century America. On the two great important economic questions, those of the Bank and the tariff, Luxon shows how Niles marshalled his arguments in favor of economic independence and

free trade. In political affairs, Niles faithfully chronicled ten presidential election campaigns impartially and without personal attacks against any of the candidates. Toward Great Britain, Niles had nothing but outspoken hatred which directly influenced American attitude. The West, which Niles regarded as the hope of the nation, received a favorable picture, and consequently, the forces which contributed to its opening may be gleaned from the pages of the *Register*. Closely connected with the opening of the West was Niles' advocacy of the system of internal improvements which he regarded as necessary to bind all sections of the country more closely together. Lastly, Niles' hatred of slavery marked him as an opponent of the institution but not such a fanatic as an abolitionist. Hence, Mr. Luxon weaves a skillful narrative to prove his thesis that the *Register* was one of the most reliable, accurate, useful, and valuable sources of information regarding nineteenth century America.

Mr. Luxon has written an extremely valuable study which is both scholarly and critical of a hitherto neglected figure and news magazine in American history. Not only is the study heavily documented from the *Register* itself but it also reveals a tremendous amount of research. His chapters on "The *Register* and the Historian," and "Critical Essay on Authorities" are especially noteworthy. Maryland readers will be surprised to find that little attention has been given to Niles' Baltimore contacts. The volume is, nevertheless, one of the better contributions of American historians within the past few years.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

A Century of Silver, 1847-1947. By EARL CHAPIN MAY. New York: McBride & Co., N. Y. 388 pp. $3.50.

While *A Century of Silver* was written in connection with the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the International Silver Company which stems from 1847, producers of silverware, it nevertheless covers a much wider field. The author, who in previous books has touched on the Maryland scene (particularly in his "Principio to Wheeling" perviously reviewed in this magazine), is highly successful in recreating the background of earlier days and presenting it in a manner which steadily holds the interest of the general reader.

The present volume which is chiefly concerned with the production of silver in Connecticut, starts off its main theme with the Rogers Brothers in 1847, and runs through a pewter era, silverplating, Brittannia ware, sterling silver inlay and the various other changes in public taste and styles and methods of manufacture that have taken place over the years. However the story is tied in with so much human interest and intriguing anecdotes, from the time that silver was peddled from door to door, that the result is to create a volume which will achieve high and lasting acceptance in its field. Obviously the research work necessary for its

production required long and meticulous labor. The book is well and interestingly illustrated and is fully indexed.

H. Findlay French

The Dorsey Family; Descendants of Edward Darcy—Dorsey of Virginia and Maryland and Allied Families. By Maxwell J. Dorsey, Jean Muir Dorsey and Nannie Ball Nimmo. [Privately printed, 1947]. 270 pp. $10.

One of Maryland's eminent and most honored citizens, now deceased, found the time, in addition to his activities in the financial world and in political life, to devote an appreciable amount of attention to the study of his paternal and maternal lineages, of which he was justly very proud. The allied family of Dorsey particularly interested him and it was rumored that he was wont to question, sometimes, applicants for positions with the great corporation which he headed concerning their own "background" and, if an applicant could rightly claim a Dorsey blood-relationship, that applicant would always be accorded preferential consideration.

At last, we have a genealogy of the Dorsey family of Maryland that is worthy of the title. The contents of this book evince an extraordinary amount of research work and considerable skill in setting forth the results in an orderly and lucid manner. References to authorities for pedigrees of the several branches of the family derived from Edward Dorsey, the immigrant, and the personal history of many of his desendants are carefully documented. There is a copious index of names, which adds to the value of the book.

This compilation of the Dorsey and Allied Families is remarkable in several ways. In the first place, it makes no vain attempt to pin the names of the pioneer American ancestors on the "tails" of apocryphal British progenitors of high rank and station. But, on the other hand, it does not mention the fact that the allied Matthew Howard family of Virginia and Maryland possessed and used in Maryland, as far back as 1695, a seal bearing the armorial devices of the *original* arms of the ancient house of Howard of County Norfolk, England, from which the Dukes of Norfolk also are derived; but our Matthew Howard, Sr., definitely did not belong to the ducal branch and, it should be added, his parentage is a moot genealogical problem.

Another remarkable feature of this book is the photographic reproductions of the signatures of the three sons of Edward Dorsey, the immigrant, beginning with that of Joshua in 1687, all of whom spelled the name "Dorsey" as it is spelled today. In old public documents, however, due to the whimsies of Court Clerks, etc., several variants of this surname appear such as: Darcy, Darsey, Dascey, Dawsey, Dorcey, Dorcy and Dorsy.

A photo-copy from the original Parish Register of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, showing that on "8 April 1708, John Dorsey married Honor

Sta——" (part of name crumbled away), refutes the common tradition that he married Honor "Elder" and confirms the belief that "Stafford" is here intended. A facsimile of an original Dorsey patent of land, photo-copies of original wills, of signatures and seals, maps showing in detail the locations of the plantations of the early members of the Dorsey family, pictures of old homes of the family and of some belonging to living descendants, pedigree charts, etc., embellish and also add to the value of the book.

A section of the book is dedicated to the allied families of Wyatt, Todd, Elder, Howard, Rockhould and Norwood. In the case of the last named family, page 202, there is a typographical error in the fourth paragraph, second line, where the year 1756 should be 1657. Mr. and Mrs. Dorsey, of Urbana, Illinois, and Mrs. Nimmo of Baltimore, Maryland, the co-authors of this genealogy, are to be congratulated on the successful completion of their several years' labor.

FRANCIS B. CULVER

Elizabeth W. Woodcock of Chatillon: A Story of a Good Life. By A. W. W. WOODCOCK. Salisbury, Md.: [Salisbury Md.: Privately Printed, 1947.] 117 pp.

In recounting the remarkable life of his cultured and talented sister, General Woodcock has presented an excellent tribute to this fine example of American womanhood and broadly, by implication, to all fine womonhood, who contribute so much to our American life.

Miss "Wilsie" Woodcock's life was one of constant giving to community, church and society while she was represented quietly in the larger field of state and nation by what she put of herself in others. Her love and sympathetic helpfulness extended to all people and even to the small life of the wood, to flowers and to the flowing stream.

Her successful brother, who has won distinction in state and nation as soldier, jurist, educator and member of a Presidential official family, gratefully acknowledges her tireless help and good counsel.

Incidentally, General Woodcock's book gives us an excellent insight during the last half century into the life and times of the progressive Eastern Shore city of Salisbury.

The volume is neatly bound and well printed on fine paper stock.

CARLYLE R. EARP

The History and Present State of Virginia. By ROBERT BEVERLEY. Edited with an Introduction by Louis B. Wright. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill: 1947. 366 p. $4.

To those who have never had the opportunity of reading this book in the editions of 1705, 1722 or 1855—and this means nearly everybody—this volume brings surprise and delight. Not content with describing the history of Virginia for its first ninety years, Beverly included detailed accounts of the country and its products, of the Indians and of the customs and practices of the transplanted English in the new land. Written with simplicity, a natural feeling for the right word and no little grace, the book is a revelation of the impact of American life on the English colonists. It should be in the library of everyone interested in the beginnings of our country.

To Marylanders Beverley's account has much suggestiveness. Since little Maryland history was written prior to the 19th century, there is a dearth of information about living conditions in Maryland before the middle of the 18th century. It is safe to conclude that the following passage describes the situation in both provinces, as of 1705: " The Private Buildings are of late very much improved; several Gentlemen there, having built themselves large Brick Houses of many Rooms on a Floor and several Stories high. . . . Of late they have made their Stories much higher than formerly and their windows large and sasht with Crystal Glass." Many other passages, equally informative and suggestive, might be cited.

J. W. F.

Conserving Pennsylvania's Historical Heritage. By SYLVESTER K. STEVENS and DONALD H. KENT, Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947. 64 p.

This is a general description of historical properties owned by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and of the activities of the Historical Commission. The State owns eleven properties, preserved and administered for public instruction and enjoyment by the Commission. Historic places controlled by other branches of the State government are not included here—for example, Valley Forge Park. The Commission also conducts archaeological investigations, carries on archival work, publishes both scholarly and popular works, places historical markers and maintains the State Museum. " The commission gives particular attention to promoting the study of Pennsylvania history in the schools, to encouraging civic organizations to use it in their programs, and to stimulating research in Pennsylvania history. Therefore, numerous popular and scholarly publications are made available, and research and editorial work to compile, prepare and edit such publications are a major activity. In all this varied program the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has been

striving to preserve Pennsylvania's historic hertiage, and to make it a source of inspiration and enlightenment to the people."

Maryland might profit by adopting a similar program. Teachers and civic societies of Maryland are knocking at the door of the Maryland Historical Society to ask for services which only a state institution or heavily endowed society can perform.

J. W. F.

Anthony's History of the Battle of Hanover (York County, Pennsylvania) . . . Compiled from Writings of George R. Prowell and Others. By William Anthony. Hanover Pa.: the Author, 1945. 160 p. $3.00.

The author of this interesting work gives authority (General Pleasanton) for the assertion that the battle of Hanover—the first important engagement of the Civil War fought on " free " soil—had a decisive effect on the outcome of the battle of Gettysburg. Be this as it may, Mr. Anthony's work is a valuable contribution to Civil War history. A great deal of material bearing on the battle of Hanover has been collected and published under one cover. Chapter 1 is devoted to the late Mr. Prowell's history of the battle. It is preceded by a short biography of Mr. Prowell. The remainder of the work is devoted largely to newspaper accounts of the battle and to reminiscences. The illustrations, which include a number of old photographs and wood-cuts, are noteworthy, and greatly enhance the charm of the book.

W. B. Marye

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Illustrated History and Guide Book to St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis . . . By Walter B. Norris. [Annapolis:] Published by St. Anne's Parish, 1947. 30 p.

Economic Survey of Allegany County, Maryland. (Studies in Business and Economics, Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1947). College Park, Md.: Bureau of Business and Economics Research, University of Maryland, 1947. 126 p.

Leisure Lore of Baltimore: A list of leisure time facilities, recreation and education activities . . . Baltimore Council of Social Agencies, 1947. 52 p. 10 cents.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Launching of the Constellation at Baltimore, September 7, 1797

The 150th anniversary of a stirring event in Baltimore history has just been marked. The *Federal Gazette* of September 7, 1797, printed a glowing account of the launching of the first vessel of the new United States fleet:

" This morning precisely at 9 o'clock, at the navy-yard of major Stodder, the builder, was launched, the *United States' frigate, Constellation.* The novelty of the scene, (she being the first frigate ever built at this port) drew forth an immense concourse of citizens, of both sexes, and of all ages; and, notwithstanding the earliness of the hour, appointed for the launch, the number, we are warranted in saying, was never equalled on any occasion, in this place. The surface of the Patapsco was covered with innumerable boats, and the adjacent hills east of Harris's creek, swarmed with spectators; and so admirable too were the situations around, that every one had the pleasure of gratifying his curiosity, without risking the least accident.

" A number of volunteers, in uniform, were admitted on board, while others were set to guard the Yard and permit no one to enter, unless engaged in the business of the day. The workmen, amounting to 200, being thus kept unobstructed, carried on their work with such regularity and dispatch, as reflected the greatest credit both on themselves and their able conductor.—Every order was communicated by a ruffle from the drum, and the operations of the men in wedging up the vessel, &c. were apparently performed with as much exactness and precision, as the manual exercise by a regiment of veterans.

" The anxious moment now arrived—and now description is beggared. —Every thing being in the most complete preparation—all the blocks taken away, every man from under the vessel, and the hull standing on almost nothing but the slippery tallow, orders were given for knocking away the last staunchion. This being done, she moved gracefully and majestically down her ways, amidst the silent amazement of thousands of spectators, to her destined element, into which she plunged with such ease and safety, as to make the hills resound with reiterated bursts of joyful acclamations. Her plunge into the water was attended with so little velocity, that she came to anchor within 100 yards of the shore, and we can pronounce, from the authority of able and experienced judges, that no vessel was ever taken from the stocks in a more safe and judicious manner than the Constellation; and that no man, on a similar occasion,

ever acquitted himself with more honor and ability, than did major DAVID STODDER."

At last accounts the *Constellation* had been towed from her old berth at Newport to Boston for a complete repair job. In spite of frequent appeals to the Navy for several decades past to return this vessel to Baltimore, present plans call for making her a permanent exhibit in the proposed Naval Museum at Washington, D. C. The photograph on the cover was supplied by the Naval History Division, U. S. Navy.

JOHNS HOPKINS AND THE CONTROVERSY OVER GENERAL WOOL

By JOHN W. MCCAIN, JR.

Concerned with the preservation of peace in Baltimore and with the Union cause, on October 30, 1862, Johns Hopkins, for whom the University is named, addressed a letter to His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, in defense of General Wool whom some were trying to have relieved of his command. This interesting letter is preserved in volume 91, folios 19272-3 of the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of MSS which were reopened at the Library of Congress on July 26, 1947.

Since the substance of Johns Hopkins' letter to the President may be of interest to many citizens of Baltimore, the words of the body of his letter are here quoted in full:

> When I had last the pleasure of seeing you, I press'd on you the importance of retaining Genl Wool in his present position here, looking to the preservation of the peace of the City, and the cause of the Union.
>
> Present events which have renewed the efforts of certain parties to remove him, only confirm me in my former convictions: and my object in now addressing you is to throw what weight I can into the scale in favor of his being retained—I am of the opinion that no one whom you could put in his place, could better serve the purposes of the government, in a city whose peace and tranquility at this time are in a great measure owing to his judgement and discretion.
>
> With sentiments of
> the highest regard your
> Servant & friend
> Johns Hopkins

A long letter of ten pages (folios 19274-19282) from Chas. H. Keener, Superintendent of the Maryland Blind Institution, and dated from Baltimore on the same date (Oct. 30, 1862), accuses Gen. Wool at length of gross errors in management, particularly of being imposed on by his so-called friends who really had secessionist sympathies. On October 31, 1862 (folio 19327), G. Warfield of Baltimore also wrote a short letter strongly urging the removal of General Wool.

Freedom Train—The traveling exhibition of historic documents reflecting origins of American liberty and institutions, known as the "FREEDOM TRAIN" will visit Maryland late in November. Former Senator Radcliffe, as representative of the American Association for State and Local History, one of the sponsoring agencies for the exhibition, has announced that the Train will visit Salisbury, Maryland, on November 22 and will be in Baltimore for two days, November 25 and 26.

The American Heritage Foundation, with the support of Attorney-General Tom C. Clarke and the endorsement of President Truman, has assumed the responsibility for the tour of the entire country by the Freedom Train. The program will continue for at least a year and more than 300 cities and towns in all parts of the country will be visited. Expenses will be paid by the Foundation, which is financed by industry, labor, private citizens and organizations. Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich, Chairman of the Board of the Foundation, has announced that 98 documents will be included in the exhibition. Among them will be the Mayflower Compact, letters and papers of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and the MS of the Star Spangled Banner, owned by the Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore. The tour opens in Philadelphia on September 17. The staff will consist of 34 persons in addition to a guard of 27 Marines. The purpose of the Train is to awaken the people to a realization of the liberties we enjoy and the means by which they were accomplished, and to encourage a rededication to the principles on which the Union has been erected.

Silver Service of U. S. S. Maryland—Vice Admiral Harry W. Hill, who was the principal speaker at the meeting of the Society on July 2 when, on behalf of the Navy, he turned over to the Society the keeping of the silver service presented to the Cruiser *Maryland* in 1906 by the people of the state, writes as follows:

"I assure you it was a great honor, as well as a real pleasure for me to have been with you on the occasion of the presentation of the Maryland Silver Service to the Historical Society. I am glad it has been deposited there where it can be enjoyed by so many, as it portrays so beautifully much of the history and tradition of Maryland. My association with this service has convinced me of the value of tradition to our every day lives, and I appreciate the fine work your Society is performing in encouraging the continued interest in these matters by the younger generation. I hope that the presence of this silver will also serve as a reminder of the outstanding records established in both peace and in war by the two naval vessels bearing the name of MARYLAND. You can well be proud of them."

Tercentenary of the Death of Governor Leonard Calvert.—The untimely death on June 9, 1647, of Maryland's first governor, is recalled in a

letter to the Society from Rev. Herman I. Storck, S. J., of St. Ignatius Church, St. Thomas Manor, Charles County. Though the Governor was a progenitor of thousands of Americans, many of whom bear the name Calvert and live in states of the West and South, he is one of the least known figures of early Maryland history. Some of his official acts, a few letters—these are all that remain to indicate his character. These, as historians tell us, are entirely to his credit. The Calvert name is perpetuated today more widely through him, an adopted American, than through his brother, the noble lord, Cecil, the second Baron Baltimore, who never set foot in Maryland.

Home for Washington County Historical Society—In 1944 the original stone house of the founder of Hagerstown, "Hager's Fancy," was acquired by the Society. Believed to have been built before the French and Indian War, this dwelling is historically interesting as an example of the frontier house-fort. It stands over two springs, adjacent to the City Park. The Society has raised $2,700 toward the cost of the property and its restoration. The City of Hagerstown has cooperated by assisting in the purchase and plans for developing this historic monument. Mrs. Frank W. Mish, Jr. is president of the Washington County Historical Society and Mr. Simms Jamieson is chairman of the Committee on Restoration.

Restoration of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Wye Mills—Rev. Thomas Donaldson, a member of the Society, has announced plans for the restoration to its original state of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church, Talbot County. While the building has been maintained in reasonably good condition, many alterations have been made in the course of the years. It is proposed to carry out thorough restoration. The architects of the project are Perry, Shaw and Hepburn of Boston, who planned and carried out the reconstruction of Williamsburg, Virginia. Some difficulty is being experienced in finding documentary description of the interior of St. Luke's. Any members, or others, having a knowledge of written records relating to the arrangement of chancel, pulpit, pews, etc. are requested to notify Mr. Donaldson at Centreville, Maryland.

The Business History Foundation, Inc.—A new research organization in the field of business history has recently been established, the Business History Foundation, Inc. Chartered under the law of New York as a non-profit organization, the Foundation is designed to carry on and facilitate research in the history of business and to assist in the publication of the results of such research. It will be financed by gifts from individuals, institutions, and companies. The Foundation is an outgrowth of the

research in the history of business that has in the past two decades been carried on under the direction of Professor N. S. B. Gras at the Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University.

CORRECTION: *"The Hermitage"*—The reference to "The Hermitage" as located in Kent County, occurring in footnote 6, page 72 of the *Magazine* for last June was, of course, erroneous. Prior to the erection of Queen Anne's County in 1706, "The Hermitage" was in Talbot County.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. MCELROY is one of the best known American historians of his generation. After being head of the Department of History at Princeton University and first exchange Professor to China, he held the Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth professorship of American History, Oxford Universtiy, 1925-1939, and the Sir George Watson professorship in British Universities. He has lectured in many universities of the world. He is the author of a number of standard works. He now lives in Baltimore. ☆ DR. ALEXANDER is a native of New York City, a graduate of Columbia University and holder of a doctorate in history from the University of Pennsylvania. He is engaged in a study of the Continental Army and the various state militias and has been a contributor to several historical society journals. ☆ Professor of literature at Hart College, Staten Island, N. Y., DR. EVERSON is the author of a biography of the Maryland-born writer whose letters she edited for this issue. ☆ DR. SANDERLIN is assistant professor of American History at Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. He is the author of a recent history of the C. and O. Canal and of contributions to other historical magazines. ☆ Descended from a Charles County, Md., line, MR. MARTIN is the compiler of a genealogy of the Thorne family now in course of preparation. He is an auditor in the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

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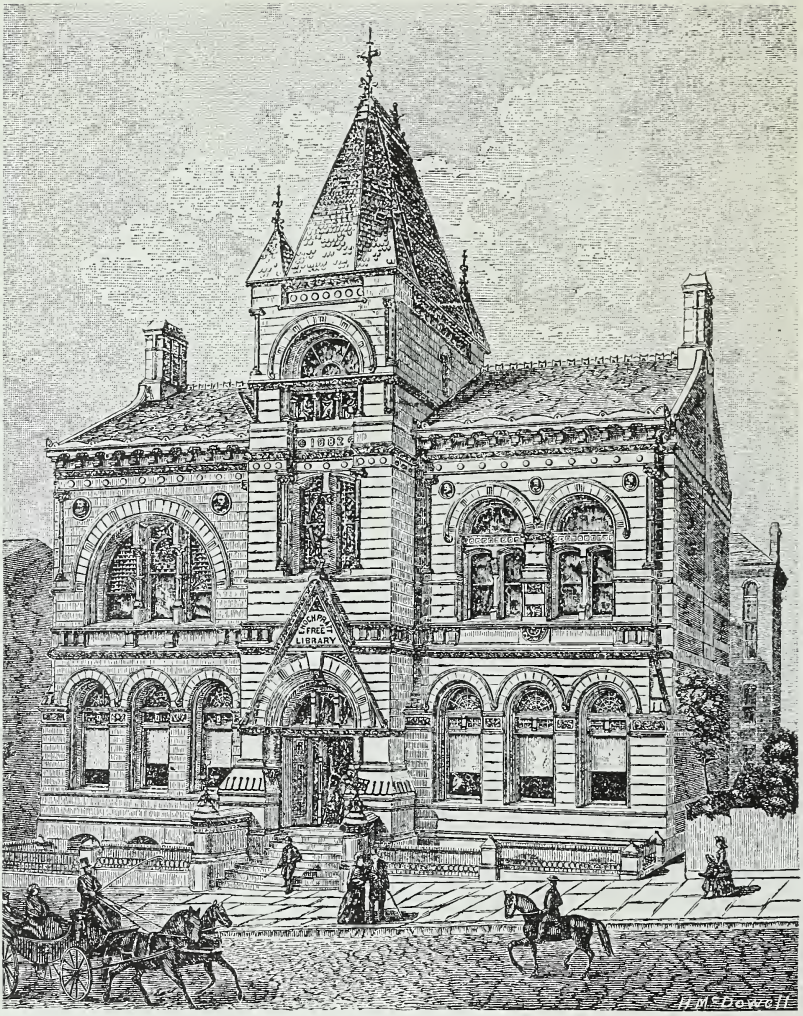

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James W. Foster, Editor.

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The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sundays, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4.

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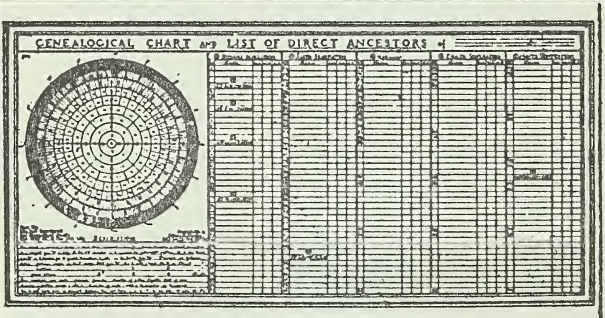

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLII DECEMBER, 1947 Number 4

STUART LONDON AND THE FIRST MARYLANDERS [1]

By Philip Byard Clayton

ALL HALLOWS on Tower Hill for certain reasons is known throughout the English-speaking world. It was the first of London's parish churches and thus it comes first upon the Bishop's list. The site upon which it stands has proved to be a veritable mine of Roman ruins. Many more remain to be unearthed upon the spot, which has been undisturbed since the first church was built there in 675 A. D. Church after church has grown from the same roots; age after age has wrought its artistry to the glory of God.

The history of London as a whole is here reflected—its growing liberties, its saints, its martyrs, its kings and aldermen and nobles,

[1] Address broadcast over WBAL on October 14, 1947, following Mr. Clayton's talk before a meeting of the Society. The latter was an extemporaneous explanation of a series of maps and views of Tower Hill and of All Hallows—*Editor.*

its warriors, its sailors, its merchants—in all, its citizens, many of whom have here worshipped. Although much has perished which cannot be replaced, there yet endures the storied pavement, with its famous brasses, the medieval walls, the window tracery, the toughened fabric of the Sussex ironwork of 1375, the matchless crypt, the Undercroft and the treasury with its contents.[2]

Compared to All Hallows, the Bank of England is almost a mushroom growth, and the Tower of London itself rose when All Hallows was almost three hundred years old. And yet the veneration due to age is but one facet of the situation. An ancient Church may have no great tradition. What has All Hallows done for London?

Owing to its position, the church became a veritable rallying-ground from which the burgesses confronted kings and nobles in the Tower. Here were obtained the liberties of London, and here the Great Seal of London lay all night upon the altar. The Church held in medieval times the right of curfew and of sanctuary, both rare. To the north, Edward I, built a royal chapel of Berkinshaw to contain the heart of Richard Coeur de Lion. In All Hallows in 1309 took place the tragic drama of the trial and condemnation of the Knights Templar.

I

Old London belongs as much to America as to England, and not the least to Maryland. The Province of Maryland was part of the diocese of London for many years. The first Lord Baltimore, though a Yorkshireman, spent many years at the court of James I as Secretary of State and he is buried in the church of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, Fleet Street. The charter of Charles I, obtained by him but granted to his son, the second Lord Baltimore, gave the settlers in Maryland all the rights of Englishmen and confirmed this in specific and notable terms.

The British Museum contains a copy, which once belonged to George III and bears his monogram, of *A Relation of Maryland*, with the imprint of a London bookseller of September 8, 1635, with a contemporary map of the Province and a translation of the charter. Other copies exist in the library of the Maryland His-

[2] It remained for the blitz to reveal an unsuspected architectural feature—an arch of unexplained workmanship dating from its seventh century. The earliest arch in London, it is undoubtedly part of the first church.—*P. B. C.*

torical Society and in other American collections, but I am quoting from George III's calf-bound volume. I felt my imagination quicken when I read King Charles's grant in the old type and long s's of the seventeenth century. It provided, under the Great Seal of England, that:

> all and singular the Subjects, and Liege people of Us, our Heires, and Successors, transported, or to be transported into the said Province, and the children of them, and of such as shall be descended from them, there already borne, or hereafter to be borne, bee, and shall be the Denizens, and Lieges of Us, our Heires, and Successors . . . and be in allthings held treated, reputed, and esteemed as the liege faithfull people of Us, our Heires and Successors borne within . . . our Kingdome of England . . .

The charter also gave the subjects of King Charles living in Maryland the right to hold property in England; it declared that Maryland was not hereafter to be considered a part of Virginia; and it conferred on Lord Baltimore and his heirs a jurisdiction corresponding to that of the Bishops Palatine of Durham. At this time Durham was the sole survivor in England of those palatine territories—generally on the borders of the kingdom—where the sovereign retained only the suzerainty and delegated his powers to some great noble or ecclesiastic who was responsible for its defence and internal government.

This emphasizes the exceptional character of the charter of Maryland. Many other circumstances of the grant are as picturesque as they are material for history. The map in the *Relation of Maryland* is decorated with the Royal arms of the Stuarts (England and France quarterly with Scotland and Ireland) and those of the Barons of Baltimore beneath the King's. The grant is made " in free and common soccage, by fealty onely, for all services and not in Capite, and by Knights service: yielding and paying therefore to Us, our Heires and Successors, three Indian arrows in use in those parts," to be delivered yearly at Windsor Castle, together with a third of the gold and silver ore found in the Province. It is known that the arrows were tendered to the King, since receipts for them are in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. Neither this customary service nor any of the arrows so far as is known, survived the Commonwealth in England and nothing of the kind is calendared in the Colonial series of State Papers in the Record Office. Here is a fascinating field of research for some zealous young student. What a find it

might be if a bunch of arrows were disinterred from the rubble of London!

So the Marylanders of the Colonial period were English by Royal warrant as well as by right of birth. As far as a document issued under the Great Seal could make them so, they possessed all the rights of King Charles's subjects on the other side of the Atlantic. There is every reason to suppose that they thought of themselves as English folk both in that century and for long afterwards. We can think of them, moreover, as having a vision of England before their eyes. Stuart London was as familiar to most of them as to contemporary Englishmen, and English history up to that point was a common possession. Stuart England, and especially Stuart London must, therefore, form the background of our thought about early Colonial history.

II

History moved quickly in that century. A man born about 1620 might have heard his elders talking about the Armada. It was only yesterday that these elders had seen Shakespeare playing at the Blackfriars Theatre or Middle Temple Hall or had crossed the river to the Globe Theatre on Bankside. If this man lived to seventy he might well feel that his world had been turned inside out. He would have lived under five Sovereigns, through the Commonwealth, Protectorate and the Restoration; one king had been executed and another had just abdicated. Throughout his life the atmosphere had been heavy with foreboding; for the troubles which came to a head under Charles I were already casting heavy shadows in the reign of his father.

Faction had already raised its head in England and Scotland. On the Continent of Europe fanaticism was laying its bloody trail. In the wider historical picture the Great Rebellion and Civil War in Great Britain were no more than a dramatic episode, on the periphery of the Thirty Years' War. When the Maryland charter was obtained, Puritan zeal was beginning to invade both Houses of Parliament. Catholic disabling Acts were apprehended and Catholic worship was proscribed. The time was near when Laud, the Anglican churchman, was to be executed on Tower Hill as a Papist. In despair of peace at home, thousands of Englishmen were seeking a home under new skies where they might find the freedom of worship denied them at home.

These men served England. We can use those words now in a wider sense. In serving English ideas of liberty and tolerance, they gave them to a new continent—until American citizens, derived from many races, are able now to respond by instinct and long tradition to the call whenever it comes and from whatever source, for service to mankind.

III

Sir George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, was one of those who had read the signs of the times. He is properly regarded as the projector of Maryland, although he died before the Charter had passed the Great Seal. He was, as is well known, a Roman Catholic at the time of his resignation of the office as Secretary of State to James I. How long he had been a Catholic is a controverted subject. It is, however, beyond dispute that James I placed the fullest confidence in him. Knowing him to be a Catholic, he entrusted him with the protection and patronage of the Church of England in his Province. In the context of his career, whether his Catholicism was lifelong or the result of recent conversion, the recognition accorded him marks him as a man of rare character and a tolerant spirit far beyond that of his age.

Where else can we find, or at what time in that troubled century, a statesman prepared to tolerate widely differing religious opinions and practices? Where, even in America, at that early period? This is a proud and proper boast of Maryland; nevertheless, Maryland did not owe its inception simply to the desire to escape religious persecution, still less to the wish to promote the exclusive practice of a particular form of worship. The plantation was made in order to set up a prosperous community in a new land of opportunity, with all the privileges of English subjects, and at the same time to forward a prudent commercial undertaking.

The merit of this project belongs to George, first Lord Baltimore; its execution to his sons and descendants, especially Cecil or Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore, and Leonard Calvert, first Governor, who led the little band which sailed from Cowes, Isle of Wight, in the *Ark of Avalon* and the *Dove* on November 22nd, 1633.

Our listeners need not be reminded that the name Maryland—

Terra Mariae of the Charter—is in itself history and associates the Colony with the Queen of Charles I and so with England in the agony of civil strife. The two little ships with symbolic names—not chosen, one feels, at random—carried two hundred persons, "gentlemen adventurers . . . and indentured servants. Of the former . . . the large majority was of the Roman Catholic faith; of the latter, the majority [being the larger number of the whole ship's company] was Protestant." [3]

These men's future was in America but their roots were in England—and some are there yet. They were men of stout hearts, seeking freedom in a new land. Did the old land never tug at their affections, and did they never talk and dream about it with all its faults? Every ancient London parish is represented in some American family. These settlers knew the names of little courts and alleys hidden up and down London. As children, they had wandered into the country still close at hand and gathered wild flowers. They knew the Thames as a busy waterway between London and Westminster, connected as yet by no more than a single line of houses along the Strand to the village of Charing. They were familiar with grimmer sights, such as the heads on London Bridge and the executions on Tower Hill.[4]

From that hill and its immediate vicinity we can, however, look back over many centuries before the Conqueror's time, as well as to all that followed, down to the reign of Charles I, which the first Marylanders shared. The church of All Hallows-by-the-Tower had been a witness of all that history since Saxon days, when it was known as all Hallows, Barking—nearly four centuries before the Tower was built—and the site was Roman. When the calamitous chapter in London history was written in 1940 and 1941 and All Hallows was first bombed, then burnt out, we unearthed the traces of an early story till then unknown. The roof, the pillars and the ancient organ came crashing down upon the floor. Behind the organ and its panelling at the west end was found an arch which is certified by the President of the Society of Antiquaries as dating from near the end of the seventh century A. D. It was constructed of Roman tiles without a key-

[3] C. C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (N. Y., 910) p. 14.

[4] Marylanders often wrote of "going home" to England. The abundance of English place names in America attests the natural ties existing in the 17th and early 18th centuries.—*Ed.*

stone—materials from Roman Londinium testifying to standing buildings not hitherto suspected as surviving into Saxon days. No other arch of the kind is known in London.

Stuart Londoners, including those who went to Maryland, were very familiar with the Tower area and All Hallows. One of the memories they must have carried overseas was that of the homely double-names of London churches. These churches had been throughout medieval times part of the weekday as well as the Sunday life of the citizens; and they elbowed one another almost as closely as the taverns. But when several churches had the same dedication it became necessary to give them a second name in order to identify them. In practice these second names came into use before surnames and they served the same purpose. Thus Londoners came to speak of St. Margaret Pattens, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Andrews-by-the-Wardrobe, St. Swithun London Stone, St. Martin-within-Ludgate, and St. Andrew Undershaft (which means under the maypole). Now there were ten or twelve churches dedicated to All Hallows, or All Souls, in the City. The medieval clerks described our own in official documents as All Hallows-juxta-Turrim (next the Tower), but the parishioners and commonfolk went back to a name which had been in use before the Tower was built. It was anciently known as All Hallows Berkyngechirche, commemorating its foundation soon after that of the Nunnery of Barking in the seventh century. Its popular name became All Hallows Barking, by which it is often still called. Not for the first time the common folk were the better antiquaries.

The story of All Hallows neither began nor ended with the execution of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. It is concerned, for example, with William Penn, who was baptized here on October 23, 1644, and with his father, Admiral Sir William Penn, who helped to save the church from destruction in the Fire of London by bringing men from the Navy Yard nearby. Readers of Pepys will remember how he climbed the tower to watch the progress of the fire, but " became afeard to stay there long; and came down again as fast as I could."

These events belong to Stuart London, but let us return for a moment to Maryland. The first settlers had taken formal possession of its territories on March 25, 1634. The first Legislative Assembly met in February, 1635. The first Puritans were

admitted in 1649 when compelled to leave by the Cavalier Governor Berkely of Virginia. In 1649 (the year of the execution of Charles I) the Maryland Assembly passed the celebrated Act establishing liberty of faith by law. It had been inherent in the charter of a Protestant sovereign to a Catholic nobleman, the first Lord Baltimore, and in the instructions of the second lord to Leonard Calvert and the Commissioners sailing with the first adventures. Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, was the real author of the Act of Assembly, which was in some respects less liberal than his own draft. In short, the policy and the charter of the first Lord Baltimore, as carried into effect by his sons and descendants, " opened the door of emigration to all Christians with an assurance of equal rights and privileges."

The contrast with the home country in the first half of the seventeenth century could hardly be greater. Sectarian strife came to Maryland in its turn. A Puritan Council obtained control in 1652, and contentious times followed until the third Lord Baltimore recovered the recognition of his proprietary rights on November 30, 1657. But the principle of toleration was never successfully or finally challenged. When in 1791 Maryland ceded 61 square miles of territory to the Federal Government to form the District of Columbia she had tilled and watered the ground of American unity by her own history.

A GLIMPSE OF COLONIAL AMERICA

As Seen in an English Novel of 1754

By W. Gordon Milne

An early and interesting reflection of the American colonial scene is found in the novel, *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Anderson*, by Edward Kimber, published in London in 1754.[1] Though life in the colonies had been pictured prior to 1754, in poems, for example, such as Ebenezer Cook's *The Sotweed Factor*,[2] in accounts of travels, such as Ned Ward's *A Trip to New England*,[3] in novels such as Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jacque*,[4] and in articles in American and British periodicals discussing colonial affairs, few works of literature had treated the colonies with as much detail and accuracy as *The History of Mr. Anderson.*

The presence of the colonial scene in the novel and its accurate representation is explained by the fact that the author, Edward

[1] *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Anderson. Containing his strange varieties of Fortune in Europe and America. Compiled from his own papers.* (London: W. Owen, 1754.) Though the title page of the novel does not contain Edward Kimber's name, the book is attributed to him in the Kimber Family Notebook, now in the possession of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I. This notebook, which was begun by Edward Kimber in the year 1762, lists genealogical notes, also the writings of Isaac Kimber, Edward's father, the writings of Edward, and of his brother, Richard, and the payments received by Edward for his contributions to current periodicals, for indexing, editing, and compiling, and for other work performed for various book-sellers. The Notebook was handed down through the Kimber family and came into the possession of the great-great grandson of Edward Kimber, Sidney A. Kimber, of Duxbury, Massachusetts, who has given it to the John Carter Brown Library. A copy of the novel, printed at Dublin in 1754, is owned by the Maryland Historical Society.

[2] Ebenezer Cook, *The Sotweed Factor* (London, 1708), a satirical treatment of Maryland tobacco planters.

[3] Edward Ward, *A Trip to New England* (London, 1699), an amusing satire on New England people.

[4] Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders* (London, 1721), and *Colonel Jacque* (London, 1722). A considerable section of both of these novels deals with plantation life in Virginia, but Defoe, who was more intent on telling his story than in painting a background, and who had never been to America, gives few details about the colonies.

Kimber, an English journalist, had spent over a year in the colonies shortly before writing *The History of Mr. Anderson.* Kimber, who was born in 1719, the son of Isaac Kimber, founder and editor of the *London Magazine*, sailed for America in September, 1742.[5] He went as a " gentleman voluntier " to serve under General Oglethorpe who was quartered, with his forces, in the colony of Georgia, to defend it against the encroachments of the Spaniards. Kimber landed in New York and then travelled in the colonies of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina before reporting to General Oglethorpe's headquarters at Frederica. He subsequently took part in an expedition to St. Augustine against the Spanish in March, 1743. He remained in Georgia for another year, returning to England in 1744 and concluding his service as a soldier.

The rest of Kimber's life was spent in England. He took over the editorship of the *London Magazine* from his father in 1745 and continued as its editor until his death in 1769. He also found time to write a wide variety of articles, to edit a genealogical study of the Irish peerage, to produce numerous pieces of verse and prose for the *London Magazine*, and to publish seven novels in addition to *The History of Mr. Anderson.*[6]

Kimber did not forget America, however, and the fruits of his stay were a few accounts recording, in varying measures, his experiences. These included, in addition to *The History of Mr. Anderson*, a pamphlet, written as a letter to his father, entitled *The Relation or Journal of a Late Expedition to St. Augustine under General James Oglethorpe*, which was printed in London in 1744, and an article, " Itinerant Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," which appeared in the *London Magazine* in various issues throughout the years 1745 and 1746. He also drew upon his American experiences, to a limited extent, in another of his novels, *The Life and Adventures of Captain Neville Frowde*, published in 1758,[7] while numerous letters, verses, and

[5] Kimber Family Notebook. An account of Kimber's stay in America and his service as a soldier under General Oglethorpe is contained in an article by Sidney A. Kimber, " The ' Relation of a Late Expedition to St. Augustine ' with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes on Isaac and Edward Kimber," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXVIII, pp. 81-96.

[6] The novels, listed in Kimber's Notebook, are discussed in an interesting article by F. G. Black, " Edward Kimber, Anonymous Novelist of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in the *Harvard University Studies in Philology*, XVII (1935), pp. 27-42.

[7] In *The Life of Captain Neville Frowde* the father, mother, and sister of the

essays, giving Kimber's impressions of the colonies, are found scattered throughout the pages of the *London Magazine*.[8]

The most interesting of these reflections of the colonial scene are the "Itinerant Observations of America" and *The History of Mr. Anderson.* In the "Itinerant Observations," a humorous and penetrating account of Kimber's travels in America enroute to join General Oglethorpe's forces in Georgia, is found the source for the story of "Mr. Anderson's" adventures. Kimber says, in the excerpt from the "Itinerant Observations" appearing in the July, 1746, issue of the *London Magazine*: "They tell many stories of some of their people in these colonies, one of which I commit to writing, as I had it from the very person himself who is chief in the story." Sixty years ago, the story goes, the captain of a ship docked at Bristol kidnapped a young child in London and carried him on board his ship. The ship sailed for America. On the way the small boy was vilely mistreated by his captor and became weak and feeble. When the ship reached America, the boy was sold by the captain to a planter, for twelve guineas. The planter was fortunately a man of humanity who brought the boy up well and married him to his only daughter. At his decease he left the boy, then a young man, his wealth and possessions.

Thirty years elapsed during which time the young man lived happily with his wife, though always wondering about his own parents and wishing that he might have word of them. At this time a ship came into port with convicts aboard. Among them the young man recognized the barbarous captain who had kidnapped him. He interrogated the captain and found that the

hero, Neville Frowde, depart from England to settle near Jamestown, Virginia, leaving Neville behind in the care of his grandparents. Neville's father, the owner of a vessel in the Virginia trade, increases his interests, acquiring a store and warehouse in Jamestown; he sends presents to England, indicative of his prosperity, including among them six hogsheads of tobacco. The Frowdes find the country of Virginia so agreeable and their fortunes so increased that they remain in the colonies.

Young Neville never joins them there, however, for he is kidnapped and subsequently involved, as a young man, in a series of adventures, most of which occur at sea. When he is finally reunited with his mother and sister (his father having died in Virginia of spotted fever, meanwhile), he is still at sea, the reunion taking place aboard a vessel bound for Europe, and he never does glimpse the land which his family had found so pleasing.

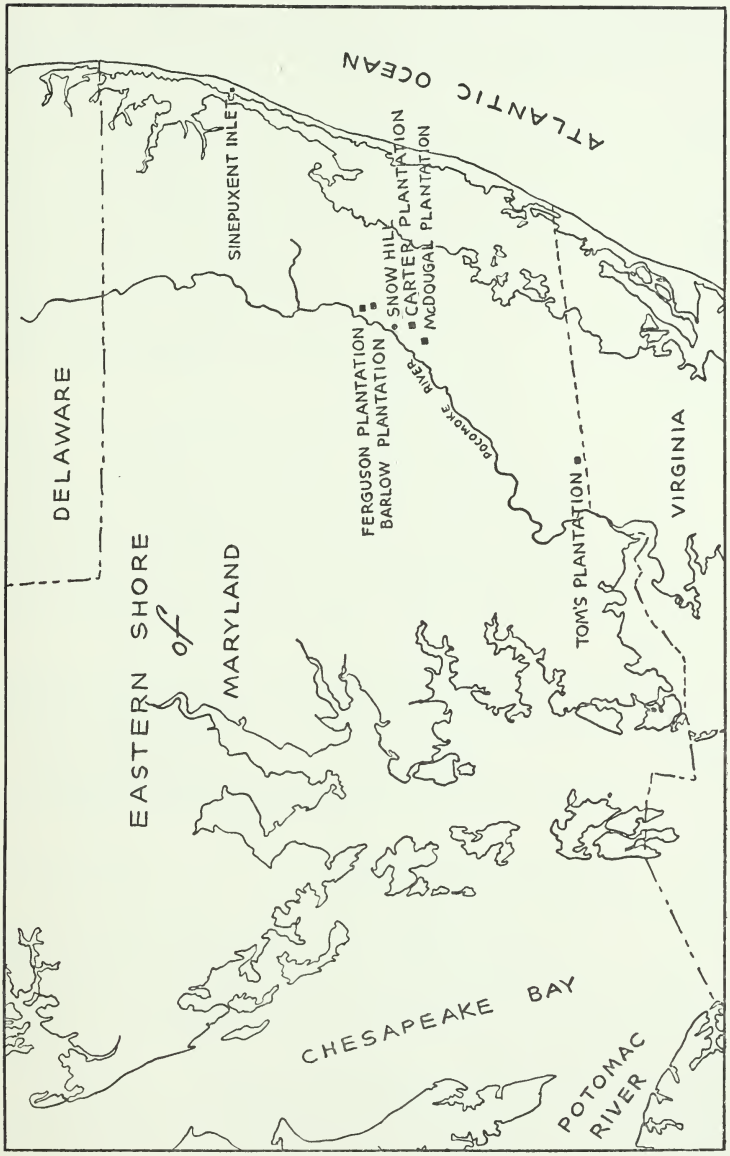
[8] In the *London Magazine* for July, 1743, for example, there appears a poem of Kimber's called, "Song, extempore, by a Young Gentleman Now in America, at his leaving New York . . . in order to proceed to Maryland." The poem shows no great affection for New York itself but hints at the presence there of a young lady who has caught Kimber's eye.

latter did not know who his parents were. The captain was put in prison and thereupon stabbed himself. The young man, Kimber says, in concluding the story, is the one who related the story to him, now an old gentleman, " seventy and very hearty and well."

When he came to write *The History of Mr. Anderson* almost ten years later, Kimber took this tale and fashioned it to suit his own ends. Briefly, the novel's story is as follows: Tom Anderson, a boy of seven, is kidnapped from in front of his home in London and is carried on board ship at Bristol by a cruel sea captain named Williamson. The ship soon sails for America. After he has recovered from his sea-sickness—or, as Kimber puts it, " when he had, in some measure, conquered the sickness of this unusual element " [9]—Tom is much misused by his captor. On their arrival in Maryland Tom is sold for ten pounds to a planter named Barlow. This planter proves to be very cruel and equal in brutality to Captain Williamson. Tom finds some comfort at the plantation of his new owner, however, in the tender treatment accorded him by Mrs. Barlow and by her daughter, Fanny, a beautiful young girl of his own age, with whom he falls in love. In the pleasant company of these two, he leads a happy existence and grows up to be a capable and likable young man. When, however, Fanny is urged by her father to make a distasteful marriage with Charley Carter, the son of a neighboring plantation owner, Tom's happiness is checked. His love for Fanny is discovered by Mr. Barlow who, realizing that Tom is an obstacle in the way of the match which he wishes his daughter to make, removes him from the scene by sending him to a distant plantation. He puts Tom in charge of running the plantation, and Tom, although unhappy over " his Fanny's " absence, handles his task well. Subsequently Tom is sold to the Indian trader, Matthewson, who grows fond of him and adopts him, instructing him in his trade and making him his heir. They, on journeying west into the " Indian nations," become involved in skirmishes with the French and Indians, and Matthewson is killed, thus leaving Tom a wealthy and successful young trader.

Thereafter Tom is captured by a tribe of Indians friendly to the French, is carried to Quebec, and thence is ordered to France. On the journey the vessel in which he is travelling meets and

[9] *The History of Mr. Anderson*, p. 9.



Approximate location of principal scenes in *History of Mr. Anderson.*

overpowers a pirate ship. Tom plays a leading rôle in its capture. The captain proves to be Williamson, Tom's kidnapper. Tom forces Williamson to tell him the details of his kidnapping, but is unable to learn much about his parents. Williamson is executed.

In France Tom meets M. du Cayle, a young nobleman, formerly his prisoner in Virginia, whom he had befriended at that time; through M. du Cayle he secures his release. He then proceeds to London where, quite by chance, he lodges with his own parents. He hears their story, tells his own, is identified by a birthmark, and, after a considerable amount of swooning by all, is welcomed into his parents' arms. He returns to America, marries Fanny, rewards his friends, and, with Fanny and her mother, comes back to England to live with his parents.

From a perusal of *The History of Mr. Anderson* it is possible to make an itinerary of the hero's travels in America, and in so doing to reveal Kimber's first-hand acquaintance with the colonial scene. This itinerary must necessarily lack complete continuity, because of the author's sometimes sketchy details, his vague mention of places, his casual references to distances, and his off-hand account of the passing of time, but, in the main, Tom's travels can be traced.

Tom's journey in America began in 1697 in the colony of Maryland, when the ship in which he was carried from England by his kidnapper, Captain Williamson, landed at " sene-puxon inlet." [10] There slaves were unloaded, and Tom was sold by Williamson to the planter, Barlow, whose house was " near twenty miles from the sea." [11]

Tom was delivered to this plantation and was to spend the next several years there. After some ten years, Barlow, in order to break off the romance between Tom and his daughter, Fanny, sent Tom to a plantation which he owned some forty miles distant " at the back of the country." [12] Tom was put in charge of the plantation and supervised the Negroes in the cultivation of tobacco. A short time later he was sold to the trader, Matthewson, and immediately departed with him for Virginia. Since they were but a few miles from the border of Virginia at the plantation, they

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 11. The present day spelling is Sinepuxent.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

soon entered Northampton county, the first on the eastern neck of the colony of Virginia, according to Kimber.[13] They passed along, stopping at the houses of Matthewson's friends and presumably making Williamsburg or Jamestown their destination.[14]

Before departing from Virginia for their stores in the Indian country, Matthewson and Tom collected a troop of rangers to accompany them, fearing the threat of the " French Indians " who were proving troublesome in the back settlements. They then left for the " Indian nations at the back of Virginia," [15] a journey of " near three hundred miles." [16]

Shortly after their arrival they found that a store of Captain Matthewson's, in the Twightwee nation,[17] had been broken open by the French Indians and two of his servants carried captive to Fort Moville, a French stronghold.[18] Tom and Matthewson, together with their rangers, immediately set out in pursuit, marching into the " enemies' territories " for better than one hundred and fifty miles.[19] News of their advance reached Fort Moville, and the governor of the fort, with one hundred Indians and forty French, went to oppose them. After a laborious march, the governor and his force came up within two days journey of them on one of the branches of the Ohio.

At this point in the novel, Kimber digresses and relates the story of the noble Indian, Calcathouy, and his squaw, Talousa. In the course of this digression he speaks of the erection by the French

[13] Kimber's geography was faulty in this instance. Accomac County is the first on the eastern neck, with Northampton County south of it.

[14] Since Matthewson's business interests were located in these towns.

[15] *The History of Mr. Anderson*, p. 84.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[17] " Twightwee " was the name by which the early English writers usually designated the tribe of Miami Indians, according to the " Handbook of the American Indian," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 30, Part 1. The name originates from the " twahh, twahh " cry of the crane.

The Miami tribe first appeared at the southern end of Lake Michigan. After 1711 colonies were sent out to the eastward, and settlements were formed on the Miami River in Ohio, where the Miamis remained until 1763. Thus, one can assume that Captain Matthewson's store in the " Twightwee nation " was located in the Ohio region.

[18] Examination of two eighteenth century maps, *America Septentrionalis* (1777), and *A New Map of the North Parts of America Claimed by France* (1720), fails to reveal the existence of a Fort Moville. Although Kimber's references to its location are vague and somewhat at odds with one another, it would seem that the fort could be placed slightly southwest of Lake Erie. Possibly Kimber had Fort Miami in mind, which, according to the map of 1777, was located in that approximate position.

[19] *The History of Mr. Anderson*, p. 91.

of a new fort in about 1698, " since called Mouville." [20] Calcathouy had been captured by the French and taken to Fort Moville. A group was sent to rescue him, but he meanwhile was being carried as a captive to Quebec. The rescuing group intercepted his captors on the banks of the Missouri, then went on to capture Moville and dismantle it. Kimber concludes his digression with the statement that " Moville would not now be a thorn in our sides if we had a fort there to bridle French encroachments." [21]

Resuming the thread of his story, Kimber describes the battle which ensued when the French, in three days, met Tom's and Matthewson's forces. After the battle, which resulted in a victory for the latter, and in the course of which Matthewson was killed, Tom began the march back to the nearest of his stores, some eighty miles away. He made the trip in six days.

Shortly thereafter, Tom set out for Williamsburg to settle the estate which Matthewson had left to him. He " made such expedition " that he arrived at Williamsburg in less than fifteen days.[22] Soon reversing his steps, he returned to the Indian nations. The trip this time took him a month, for it was then winter and the rivers were swelled.

From his headquarters in the Indian nations Tom then took a trip of nearly one hundred miles to visit his Indian friend, Calcathouy. While on a hunting party with Calcathouy and other friends, Tom was captured by the Ocuni Indians and was carried, in a nine days' journey, to Fort Moville. After a few days at the fort he was taken to Quebec. The trip took three weeks and was made partly upon land and partly upon navigable lakes.[23]

Tom remained in Quebec for three weeks, then boarded a man-of-war and sailed down the St. Lawrence and to France. Still in a prisoner status he arrived at Brest in December, 1721, after twenty-four years in America. Here he was released from captivity, and after a brief stay in France and in England, where he was reunited with his father and mother, sailed once again for America and the " well-known shores of Maryland." [24] On approaching the Maryland coast, Tom advised the captain of the

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 102. [21] *Ibid.*, p. 107. [22] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[23] The French, Kimber says, had made navigable lakes everywhere in order to communicate with each other more easily.
[24] *The History of Mr. Anderson*, p. 182.

ship in which he was travelling that, since Senepuxon Inlet was shallow and the ship large, it would be better to stand into the "bay of Chesapeak." [25] This advice the captain followed and anchored his ship close to the Eastern Shore in Magidi Bay.[26]

Tom immediately set out on horseback for Senepuxon and the Barlow plantation. In less than two days he traversed the two Virginia counties of Northampton and "Acomoco" and entered Worcester County in his "beloved Maryland," and shortly thereafter was reunited with Fanny, her mother, and their friends. Tom and Fanny were married and then prepared to return to England. Accompanied by Mrs. Barlow, they travelled by ship up the James River to Williamsburg for a brief visit before sailing for England.

Although in depicting Tom Anderson's journeys and adventures Kimber is not concerned with injecting local color into his characters and scene, he does, in incidental fashion, throw light on the life and people of the period. We learn, for example, that Mrs. Barlow, the wife of the cruel planter—whom Kimber called a "cunning Marylander"—was a woman of the best Maryland descent, well-educated, and the possessor of "a pretty female collection of the politest authors." She sent her daughter, Fanny, together with young Tom, for schooling to Mr. Ferguson, the schoolmaster and surgeon who lived nearby. Mr. Ferguson taught the children to write and to cast accounts and also instructed them in Latin, French, and mathematics. A master from Annapolis came to the Barlow plantation to teach Miss Fanny how to dance. Fanny and Tom also had access to the library of the Reverend Mr. Gordon, a friend of Mrs. Barlow, who lived at Snow Hill, a short distance away. And in later years both Fanny and Tom exhibited poetic talent and composed rhapsodic poems to one another.

Kimber made it clear more than once, however, that such evidences of learning and refinement were the exception rather than the rule in the colonies. He has his hero say of Maryland that it was a place "where good sense, learning, and politeness seem

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[26] Probably a fictional name, although Kimber mentions the same name in the Kimber Family Notebook when giving a brief account of his travels in America. In this account he also speaks of traveling through the Golden Quarter and the counties of Acomoco, Worcester, and Northampton—a journey which Tom Anderson parallels on his return to America from England.

not to be in so much request as I understand they are in Europe." And again, Tom Anderson, while in Europe, after he has become a prosperous trader, collects a large library of the finest books which he intends to take to Maryland " where no such treasure had ever before been seen."

There is frequent reference in the novel to plantation life. The estate of Colonel Carter, a neighbor of Mr. Barlow's, is described in some detail. It consisted of a very large house, handsomely built of brick, with gay apartments, grand furniture, and extensive grounds. There was a cleared area of land, nearly five hundred acres in extent, which was skirted by woods. The woods behind the house were cut into a " hundred mazey walks and meandring alleys," as Fanny Barlow described them; this formed a charming rural retreat. The woods were marked by groves, glades, and thickets, through all of which a murmuring river ran. At the extremity of the walks there was a fine level " savannah " where the " lowing kine and bleating sheep cropped the flowery herbage " and where " sportive steed frisked o'er the plain." On the farther side of the savannah were located the Negro huts, a little town in extent, which housed three hundred families. From these huts the Negroes issued each morning to work in the plantations surrounding the big house.

The Barlow plantation is not described except for mention of the kitchen which, the author says, " in America is generally distant from the house." Another plantation owned by Barlow, the one to which he sent Tom as overseer, is also pictured briefly. It was apparently far less pretentious than the houses of Carter and Barlow. On it was the cabin in which Tom lived and a group of cottages housing the Negro slaves who hoed tobacco for the planter.

The occasional descriptions of nature in *The History of Mr. Anderson*, although for the most part quite conventional, contain a few local touches. In a song which Tom Anderson composes as he wanders through the woods playing his flute, he mentions " Ye mock birds," which Kimber explains in a footnote are " birds that imitate the song of others." In another passage the nightingale is described as pouring out his mournful notes. Also in the song Tom courts " the bull-frogs croaking sound," which Kimber explains as " a frog that haunts the marshes, remarkable

for a loud melancholy noise." Also Tom speaks of the "gay savannah," which Kimber describes as "open meadow land."

After Tom settles down as a trader in the Indian nations in the western part of Virginia, he becomes an accomplished woodsman and one familiar with that "beautiful but wild and uncultivated country." On one occasion he goes hunting for deer and buffalo with some Indian companions. They stop to rest in the shade of a cypress grove and partake of a meal of venison. In another section of the novel Tom enjoys a more elaborate meal. Together with his guest, Mr. Ferguson, he sits down to eat salt beef, a leg of a "curlieu," which he has shot, and a dessert of wild grapes and "parsimons," which Kimber identifies as "wild medlars."

Mention is made of the palmetto tree on two occasions in the novel. Kimber speaks of Fanny Barlow's being troubled, while she is fleeing on horseback "through the gloomy retreats of the woods" from the Carter plantation to the home of the Reverend Mr. Gordon in Snow Hill, by palmetto roots "which galled the horses feet," and by China briars and brambles that "threatened to pull us off our horses." Again, Kimber describes Tom and his body of rangers, in preparation for a battle with French and Indian forces, securing themselves from view by "palmettos," interlaced with pine trees. A footnote explains "palmettos" as a "shrub with a large fan-like leaf with which in America huts and cabins are covered or thatched." [27]

There are several glimpses of colonial social customs in *The History of Mr. Anderson.* For example, one learns that those individuals who came to America as indentured servants were, as a rule, harshly treated. And one learns that the Negro slaves were accorded an even more severe treatment. Colonel Carter and his son, Charley, tied their slaves to trees and whipped them unmercifully for the slightest offenses. The Carter slaves at length rebelled and, staging an uprising, burned the plantation, killed Carter, his son, and daughter, and escaped into "the fastnesses

[27] Kimber's impressions of America were largely based on the experiences of his stay in Georgia, and his "local color" is sometimes misplaced as a consequence. In this instance, palmettos, although flourishing extensively in Georgia and Florida, are almost never found north of North Carolina, and Kimber's attributing them to Maryland and to the Virginia-Ohio region is not accurate. Again, the word "savannah"; although it *may* be applied to an open level region anywhere, it is a term most commonly thought of and used in connection with Georgia and Florida terrain.

of the mountains" toward Virginia. Tom Anderson, by contrast, treated his slaves humanely, and they—in their "uncooth tone and broken language"—expressed their appreciation, and worked diligently for him.

The Maryland planter is pictured as a hard-drinking, uneducated but cunning individual. He is a great horseman. Kimber says: "In Maryland and Virginia they are such great horsemen that a planter will go or send five miles to fetch his horse up, in order to 'ride a mile to church.'"[28] The planters maintain friendly relations with the Indian traders, such as Matthewson, "who are frequently their good customers," but to most other individuals they assume a "lord of the manor" rôle. The planter has wide business interests and often has two or three plantations, as did Mr. Barlow. Barlow had to make frequent trips to oversee his plantations and to keep his interests in order. On one such occasion he went to the "western shore of Virginia" for a month, thus providing the "good folk at Senepuxon" with a respite from his tyrannical treatment.

In the amusing proposal of marriage which the boorish Charley Carter makes to Fanny Barlow, a further insight into the colonial life of the period is offered. To convince Fanny of his worth—or, more exactly, of his importance—Charley tells her that he is already a lieutenant in the colonial militia and that he is sure to enjoy a successful political career. They will be sufficiently prosperous to keep a coach, the first one, he says proudly, in Worcester County, and, in fact, the first one this side of Anne Arundel.[29] And, if Fanny wishes, their coach will be drawn by Negroes instead of by horses.

While Fanny is to "cut a figure," as Kimber says, at church, Charley plans to "cut a figure" at the court-house. He will be chosen a "semblyman," and perhaps before he dies he will become one of the governor's council-keepers. When he acquires this important position, he says, they will move to town where

[28] *The History of Mr. Anderson*, p. 303. A striking parallel to this passage is found in Ward's *A Trip to New England*, where he says of New Englanders: "it is practicable among them to go two miles to catch a Horse, and run three Hours after him, to ride Half a Mile to Work or a quarter of a Mile to an Ale-House" (p. 52). Again, in Kimber's own "Itinerant Observations," he writes: "They [Marylanders] are all great Horsemen and have so much value for the saddle that rather than walk to church five miles they'll go eight to catch their Horses and ride there." (*London Magazine*, XV, p. 330.)

[29] He meant, of course, Annapolis.

Fanny will have for herself all the finery that can be brought from England, and may dress in great splendor.[30] As a clinching argument, Charley unabashedly speaks of his anticipated inheritance of his father's possessions—some seven hundred Negroes and 40,000 pounds—when the latter dies and states that his father " won't live long any more than old Barlow—for, by the bye, they are d——ble drinkers— that I can tell you." But Fanny, true to her love, Tom, rejects her suitor's glowing proposal.

Kimber says a good deal in *The History of Mr. Anderson* about the Indian trader and about the American Indian. After Tom Anderson is adopted by the wealthy Indian trader, Matthewson, he receives careful instructions from the latter in the art of the trade. Matthewson, who had been settled as a trader in the Indian nations for more than twenty years, and who had £8000 sterling in the hands of merchants at Williamsburg and Jamestown (!) to show for his efforts, told Tom of the manners of the several tribes of Indians with whom he trafficked, of their stoicism and simplicity and their basic good nature. He introduced him also to the storekeepers and merchants with whom he dealt. Tom was so apt a pupil, according to Kimber, that, when he had taken over after Matthewson's death, he soon forced other Indian traders in his area to move to other regions in order to maintain their business. In speaking of Tom's dealings with the Indians, Kimber makes the interesting observation that Tom was quick to learn the Creek dialect, " which was the general speech of trade throughout the several Indian nations." [31]

Kimber was much concerned with the French and Indian Wars and with the Indian's rôle in these wars, as the numerous articles in his *London Magazine* in the 1750's on the subject testify. He speaks, in *The History of Mr. Anderson*, of how the French endeavored to keep the Indians in a state of animosity toward the British. A few skirmishes between the French and British colonials and between the Indians supporting each are described. On one occasion Tom Anderson is captured by a group of " Ocuni

[30] Apparently the Maryland " town," although it meant gayety and splendor to Charley Carter, made less impression on the author; for in another passage Kimber states through Tom Anderson, that the town of Quebec in population and sumptuousness far surpassed anything he had seen in the British-American colonies.

[31] The Creek Indians were a southern tribe found almost entirely in Florida and Georgia. The author can find no proof that theirs was the universal language of trade. Kimber may have been influenced in making this statement by his own experiences and his probable personal acquaintance with the Creeks.

Indians" and is taken to Fort Moville.[32] When first seized Tom is about to be scalped, as his companions had been, but he is saved when the Indians discover his flute, with the music of which they are charmed.

In one of his frequent digressions in the story, Kimber furthers the "noble savage" tradition with the tale of the Indians, Calcathouy and Talousa. He pictures Calcathouy as possessing not only the typical Indian accomplishments of swiftness in the chase, skill with the bow, and grace in the dance, but also as possessing a greatness of soul, an honesty and sense of justice, a desire to preserve liberty, and a strong attachment to the English. Talousa is a fitting companion to her spouse, for she was "all that could appear charming to the eyes of an Indian, nay, of an European," mild of temper, soft of heart, and beautiful in appearance.

That Kimber felt a measure of affection for the colony of Maryland, in spite of the shortcomings which he attributed to it, seems evident from some lines of poetry which he puts in Tom Anderson's mouth. Tom, while in England, thinks of his "beloved Maryland" and the "innocent Senepuxon" and is inspired to speak of the colony as a place,

> Where jocund damsels, with their well pleas'd mates
> Pass the delicious moments, void of care,
> And only study how to laugh and love
> Contented, happy, under Calvert's sway.

Although Kimber did not rhapsodize in a similar fashion over the other colonies in his novel, *The History of Mr. Anderson*, he did evince a genuine interest in them all; and the account of Tom Anderson's travels and experiences has a first-hand ring which makes it, as a reflection of the colonial scene, of historical value. It is principally Kimber's concern with this 18th century American scene which has brought, in the last fifteen years, an increase in the amount of attention paid to his writings. He is a diverting figure and one worthy of closer investigation, both on this account and on account of his activities as an editor and author in general.

[32] The author can find no record of an Ocuni tribe of Indians. Kimber probably had in mind the Oconee tribe, which was a small Creek tribe in Georgia, or "Oconi," which was the name of an ancient Creek town in the eastern part of Georgia. In this instance it would seem that Kimber again drew upon his actual experience in Georgia and consequently misplaced his local color, the Oconi Creeks being an entirely Southern tribe which would not be found in the Ohio-Virginia region.

MONTEBELLO, HOME OF GENERAL SAMUEL SMITH

By J. Gilman D. Paul

One day recently there appeared in the Maryland Historical Society the portrait of a beautiful white house. It was fading into the limbo that awaits all old photographs, but the festive, composed symmetry of the building, brought out against a background of great trees, still projected itself powerfully from the frame. You could call it a villa, in the full European sense of the word; but there was something about the unruly texture of the surrounding foliage, the look of the summery furniture in the porches, that made you realize this was a charming exile in the American wilderness.

To at least one person who saw it that day, the picture brought across the years a sense of something more than familiar. It was the neatness, the whiteness, the warmly inhabited look that threw him off the track for a moment and kept him from realizing at once that this was none other than the mysterious deserted house in " Garrett's Woods," close to his home, that he had known from his earliest years. " Montebello " it was called. Its stucco walls, at that time, were streaked with huge weather stains, its windows were like dead eyes; but in spite of this the old house had a dauntless gayety, proclaiming its courage and high breeding in language that even a child could understand. In spite of half-hearted efforts to keep them boarded up, the doors usually stood open to any chance trespasser, and so this small boy grew to know every inch of the echoing interior, by day and by night. In the shadows of what had been a stately dining room, he deeply relished the oval sweep of the walls; or, stepping out through a shattered window to the roof of the living room, he shared with a thousand noisy bumble bees the flowers of a great white wistaria that was methodically wrecking the delicate wooden railing. Looking out through

the tangle of the vine, he could see the distant city of Baltimore, already advancing in a relentless tide of two-story houses that was soon to overwhelm the site of the old house and its majestic company of white oaks.

These reflections, personal and sentimental as they are, might seem to have no place here; but as often happens, the enthusiasms one fancies to be one's private property are the familiar companions of many others. So it was with Montebello. It emerged, in conversation, that there still live old ladies who had driven out to the house with their parents to call " while the Garretts lived there "—the epoch when the photograph was taken—and are ready and willing to tell what they remember of it. Others, more numerous, got to know it when, as students at Bryn Mawr School, they went out from town to play basket ball near the old stone stables that served for a time as gymnasium. Amateur snapshots emerged from hiding; scraps of woodwork piously salvaged from the wreckers unexpectedly appeared. A number of persons, thinking of Montebello as the loveliest old house in Maryland, commended it to the attention of the new-born Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities and were shocked to learn it had been destroyed thirty years ago. In view, therefore, of this unexpectedly lively interest it seems fitting to pay a salute to the old house before the photograph has wholly faded and while there remains a small group of people who remember it with affection.

In that stirring period just after the Revolution, Samuel Smith, builder of Montebello, stands out as easily the most engaging and powerful figure in the Maryland scene. Like so many of the men who helped forge Baltimore's financial and commercial might at the turn of the century, he was of Scotch-Irish ancestry; unlike many of them, however, he peered eagerly beyond the walls of his wealthy father's counting house at the greater world abroad, and in 1772, a young man of 20, set out on three *wanderjahre* in Europe which were to have a deep influence on his life. Returning home just before the outbreak of war with England, he plunged joyously into the conflict, acquitting himself brilliantly, winning the rank of Brigadier-General and forming a taste for military life which was to stand his fellow citizens in good stead on occasions to come. Even before the war was over his immense

General Samuel Smith, Builder of Montebello.
After Engraving by St. Memin about 1800.

Montebello, From an Engraving by William Birch.
Published in His *Country Seats of the United States*, 1808.

Montebello Shortly before It Was Pulled Down.

Detail of Cornice and Railing of Porch.

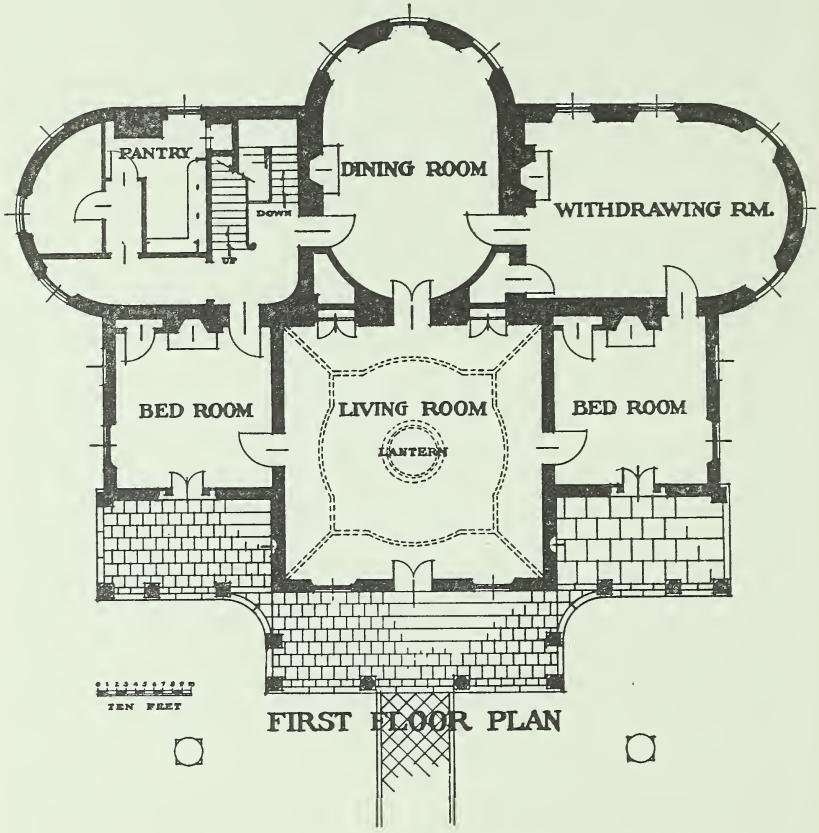
Niche in Center Wall of Second Story, South Elevation.

Entrance Doorway of Montebello.
Facing South, the House Stood on the Ridge East of the Alameda,
South of 33rd Street.

vitality, turning here and there for outlets, led him deep into the complexities of national politics and land speculation, while at the same time he set about the business of founding a family by marrying Margaret Spear of Baltimore in 1778. So prosperous were his affairs by 1792 (he was then an incorporator of the Bank of Maryland and a dominant figure in the State's iron industry) that we find him laying plans for building town and country residences in the best taste of his time. Parcel after parcel of land was acquired on the high ground north of the city, where the City College now stands, and the County Assessment records of 1799 state that "on this [General Smith's] property is the beginning of a most elegant brick dwelling house." "Black Heath" was the name then borne by this estate of 473 acres. Tradition has it that the General, a great admirer of French military prowess, rechristened it in honor of Marshal Lannes's victory over the Austrians at Montebello in 1800.

In a scholarly essay published in the *Architectural Review* of November, 1909, Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler lays every subsequent student of Montebello under deep obligation. In it he calls attention to the fact that Homewood, Charles Carroll's famous house, was probably under construction before Montebello was finished, and that "the resemblance between the detail of Montebellow and that of Homewood, not only in the scale and character of the moldings, but even in the design of individual features, is very close—indeed, much closer than can be entirely explained by the fact that they were contemporaries. It seems almost certain that the same men must have executed the work at both places." In this regard, however, contemporary documents do not help us out of the realm of conjecture. We now know, from the correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton with his son, that Homewood was built by a man named Edwards after designs by Charles Carroll the younger. We also learn from Griffith's *Annals of Baltimore* that General Smith's town house on Water Street was built in 1796 "on a plan furnished by himself and executed by Messrs. John Scroggs, Robert Steuart and James Mosher, builders." It would seem likely that the same firm was employed on the building of Montebello, started only three years later. The theory that General Smith was his own architect finds support in the daring and original character of the man, who did not hesitate to depart from the accepted contem-

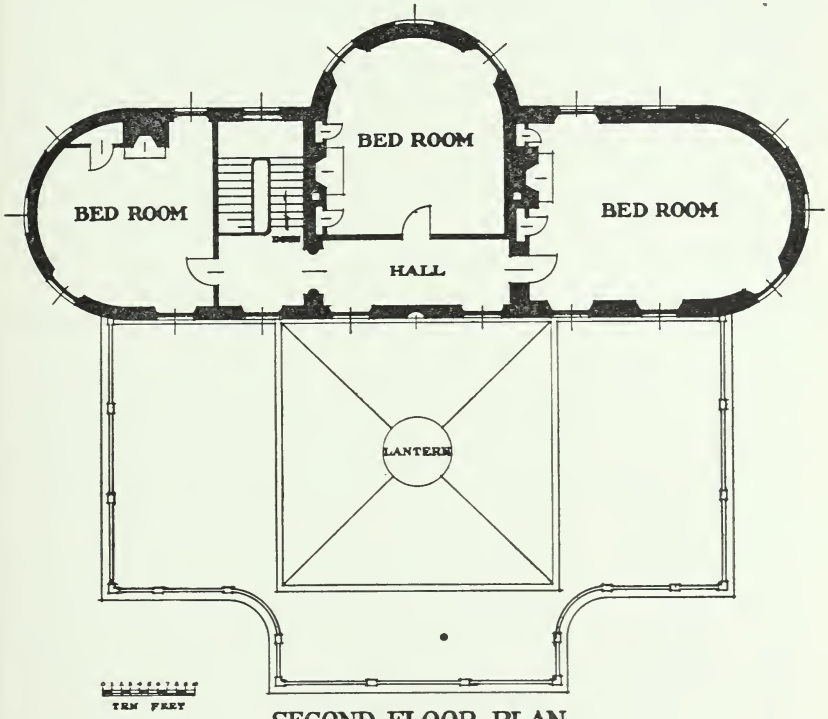
porary type of country house with a central building connected by one-story passages to lower wings on each side, as exemplified by Hampton, Belvedere and Homewood. In this connection, a



The front part of the house—porch, living room and two bedrooms—was only one story in height. The rear half consisted of basement and two full stories. As at Homewood and Monticello in Virginia, the stairway occupied a secondary position. The withdrawing room was probably used as the owner's bedroom. (Drawing by Bryden B. Hyde.)

most interesting bit of research is contributed by Mr. Fowler, who notes that " at Strabane, Ireland, the birthplace of General Smith's father, there is a villa which, as shown in an old 18th century architectural book now in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, quite decidedly resembles Montebello—certainly a striking coincidence, if nothing more."

About 1800, then, we find General Smith, his wife (" a beautiful and imperious woman ") and their many children installed at Montebello, which William Wirt must surely have had in mind



SECOND FLOOR PLAN

The second story of the rear part of the house, with semi-circular ends, rose behind the one-story flat-roofed front half. The railings on both front and rear parts of the house with their contrasting curves contributed one of the most individual touches to this building. The " Lantern " served to give light and air to the large living room. (Drawing by Bryden B. Hyde.)

when he described the country homes of that neighborhood. " The sites of the houses are well selected," he wrote, " always upon some eminence, embosomed among beautiful trees, from which their white fronts peep out enchantingly; for the houses are all white, which adds much to the cheerfulness and grace of this unrivalled scenery." A glance at the accompanying illustrations shows that Montebello was not a bumptious house. The detail, inside and out, was most delicate and knowingly used; there are

none of the devices commonly employed to impress the visitor. Instead, the designer depended for his effects on subtle touches such as the harmonious relation of the rounded ends of the high rear part of the house to the reentrant curves by which the porches flank the one-story front section. Perhaps the most interesting room was the oval dining room, constructed with a reckless expenditure of masonry, which, according to Mr. Fowler, was more elaborately finished than the others, with French furniture of exceptional workmanship, a fine marble mantel-piece from Italy, and on the walls two handsome portraits of the General and his wife by Gilbert Stuart. All these well-thought-out details were not lost on the distinguished visitors from Europe who were entertained there as General Smith became more and more deeply involved in National and State affairs. The chronicle of his occupancy of Montebello is a happy and interesting one. As years and honors were laid on him, he seems to have made a truce with the forces of mental and physical disintegration, for at the age of eighty-three, he was called by the despairing citizens of Baltimore to suppress the great Bank Riot of 1835. Shortly after this he was elected Mayor of the City, holding this office almost until his death, in 1839.

The General's son, John Spear Smith, first President of the Maryland Historical Society, now took over at Montebello, sharing it with his mother until her death in 1842. Of his affection for it we get some reflection in a letter written in May, 1839, to his daughter Mary: "It is hard to be kept in town this beautiful weather, and that too when Montebello is in all its glory—strawberries ripening, flowers in bloom, the lawns fresh mowed." However, the estate was soon to be sold to the Tiffany family, of whose occupancy few memories seem to have survived. Toward the end of the Tiffany regime a portentous figure appeared on the scene in the shape of John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who built himself a country home on a higher, more dominating ridge north of Montebello. Mr. Garrett was a close friend of Johns Hopkins, whose home, Clifton, lay nearby, east of the Harford Road. It is known that the two men discussed intimately the plans for the University that Mr. Hopkins was to found, and it is not unlikely that the purchases of land made by Mr. Garrett at this time had some relation to these plans. Among the tracts assembled in this huge acreage was Montebello,

which stood for years untenanted until it came to life for a short time as the summer home of Mr. Garrett's son, T. Harrison Garrett, before he moved to Evergreen on Charles Street Avenue.

Montebello was never again occupied as a home. After the elder Mr. Garrett's death, his landholdings were divided among various heirs, the white villa falling to the share of his daughter, Miss Mary Garrett, well known as a pioneer in the struggle for equal rights for women. Miss Garrett was a close friend of the President of Bryn Mawr College, the redoubtable Miss M. Carey Thomas, and we are fortunate in having the record of a visit paid by these two ladies to Montebello—a visit fraught with disastrous consequences for the old house.

The story is told by Mr. J. Alexis Shriver, a former officer of the Maryland Historical Society, which owes much to his abounding energy and tireless spirit of research. Mr. Shriver in 1907 was deeply interested as purchasing agent in a projected electric railroad from Baltimore to the Susquehanna, the right of way of which would pass directly through the Montebello estate. After some correspondence Mr. Shriver was informed by the owner, Miss Mary Garrett, that she wished to see for herself the course of the proposed railroad, and that she would meet him at Montebello on such and such a day, accompanied by Miss Thomas. Mr. Shriver, who drove out from Baltimore in a closed carriage, was at the place of rendezvous well ahead of the two ladies, who finally appeared in a victoria, wide open to the summer air.

After discussing the matter of the right of way at great length, their attention turned to Montebello, beautiful even in the last stages of dilapidation, and they gingerly entered it through the shattered front door. As they passed from room to room, avoiding fallen plaster and holes in the floor, Miss Thomas was moved to increasingly vigorous expressions of distaste, based rather on fear that Miss Garrett might become liable for damage suits than on regret for the sad condition of an architectural masterpiece. The appearance of some coarse *sgraffiti* scrawled by boys on the living-room wall brought matters to a head, and Miss Thomas declared with finality, "Mary, this house must be pulled down."

"Yes, Carey dear, I think you are right," replied Miss Garrett, and orders for the wrecking were given then and there to the Irish overseer who was going along with the party. Mr. Shriver tried to stand between the old house and destiny, but to no avail.

Seeing the cause was lost, he pointed out that much of the delicate woodwork was still intact and should be preserved for study, to which Miss Thomas crisply replied that anything worth salvaging would be sent to Bryn Mawr. As they came out of the doomed house, it became evident that an afternoon thunderstorm was about to pounce. There was a rapid issuance of orders by Miss Thomas, and the last Mr. Shriver saw of the two ladies they were heading for Baltimore in his closed carriage, leaving him to meet the storm in the victoria.

To Baltimore's everlasting architectural loss, the orders for wrecking Montebello were carried out shortly after this visit, and the house was leveled a few years before the property, as a whole, was sold for real estate development. What a moral can be drawn from this in favor of the new Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities! The woodwork minus the mantels, which had all been removed (or stolen) was not sent to Bryn Mawr, but was stored in an old greenhouse nearby, where it was destroyed by fire. Of Montebello, nothing tangible survives save a few scraps of woodwork in the collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art, and in private hands.

A SEAMAN'S NOTEBOOK: THE TRAVELS OF CAPTAIN GEORGE DE LA ROCHE

Edited by Howard J. Strott

During the last decade of the 18th century and the first ten years of the 19th, there were few places in the Western world untouched by armed warfare of one sort or another. From the Napoleonic Wars through the Franco-Haitian conflict to the War of 1812, with fights against pirates and corsairs thrown in for good measure, both Europe and America felt the strain of these troubled days. But in times of disorder as in times of peace, men still had livings to earn and families to support as best they could. Seamen in particular felt the impact of the times, visiting as they did the ports of the world, and their accounts of their voyages give us a first-hand picture of the age. One such interesting, though brief, diary is that kept on his Atlantic travels by an American merchant captain, George Henri Frederick Franck de la Roche, a photostatic copy of which has been presented to the Maryland Historical Society by his great-grandson, Henry L. Page, Jr. The original manuscript is in the possession of another of his great-grandsons, Charles G. Page, the donor's brother.

Born in 1791 in Philadelphia, de la Roche was an American citizen, thanks to the efforts of his father in the American Revolution. Baron Frederic Franck de la Roche (1757-1805) had been an aide to General Lafayette at the Battle of Brandywine, serving until the surrender at Yorktown. The baron was a French nobleman born at the court of Trèves, Germany, a son of the Chancellor and Prime Minister to the Archbishop of that city. After serving in the American Revolution, for which he was naturalized in 1790, he returned to France again only to flee to Germany at the outbreak of the French Revolution. There he married the daughter

of the Elector of Trèves, Countess Elzina Maria de Lespinasse.* Shortly thereafter the nobleman and his wife settled in Philadelphia, where George was born.

As the following account relates, on the death of his father young de la Roche rose from seaman to captain in his own right, and served in the Chesapeake Bay campaign during the War of 1812 in capacities of some importance. Returning to the merchant trade for some time following the end of the war, Captain de la Roche went into the shipping business with a Mr. McNulty of Philadelphia. In 1816 he married his partner's daughter, and three years after her death in 1822, was married to a Baltimore girl, Jane Jacob Belt. George Franck de la Roche remained in the merchant trade for only a few more years, leaving the sea to become one of the civil engineers who built the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In his later life, the Captain retired and lived in Georgetown, D. C., where he died in 1861.

MEMORANDUMS

of my various trips at Sea; all but the 1st of which, were taken from my old Sea Journal begun in 1802 when little over 11 years old.

My father, baron Frederic Franck de la Roche who had served as aid de camp to Lafayette during our revolutionary Struggle, having early in the French Revolution fled to the U. S. with my mother and my two sisters, was immediately declared a citizen for his services as above stated, and with the fortune saved, entered actively in Commercial Shipping business, and having made great losses up to 1797, by what are now called the " French Spoliations," [1] returned to Europe that year, to claim identification therefore.

On the 14th of August, 1797, my mother, my two sisters and myself left Philadelphia for Bordeaux, in the packet Benjamin Franklin, Captn. Lloyd Jones, to join my father; and I, then only 6 yrs, 6 mths & 5 da.

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* " Baron Frederick Franck was a son of Baron George Antoine Michael Franck and Sophie Marie (Von Gutterman-Von Guttershoven) de la Roche. She was a celebrated German authoress. Baron George Antoine Michael Franck was son of Baron and the Princess (Von Lichtenstein) de la Roche, son of Count de la Roche, of Provence, France (Huguenot)."—James E. Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family* (Boston: 1896).

[1] These were losses arising from seizures of our ships by France between 1793 and 1798. That government misunderstood the Anglo-American relations of the time and began to seize United States ships as prizes, as she had those of England.

old crossed from America to Europe for the first time, reaching Bordeaux about the 10th of October, 1797.

It being necessary to save my birthright, by the new laws of France, that I should not remain two years contiguously in the then Republic, to avoid being inscribed on the then forming conscription lists; on the arrival of our old friend Captn. Lloyd Jones, my mother placed me under his care to return to the U. States, to obtain a certificate from the Sec. of State; and thence began my preference for a sea life, which at the death of my father, Col. of 3 regt. of Huzzars in the allied army, who was killed at the battle of Austerlitz, when crossing a lake on the ice in Co. with two other regiments of cavalry to take Napoleon in flank; he Napn. ordered his artillery to fire on & break the ice, when this whole body of troops were submerged & lost; I had to decide on a profession for support. Of course only the data, without details is given.

May 21, 1802 left Bordeaux, for Point a Petre Guadeloupe in ship Ploughboy of Philadelphia, Capt. Lloyd Jones. Arrived there June 19th, during the Slave insurrection.[2]

August 19th left Point a Petre for Bordeaux again and arrived at entrance of River Oct. 4th, 1802.

December 8th, 1802 left Bordeaux for Philadelphia in Same ship, arriving there Feb. 6th, 1803, my first return since leaving there Aug. 19th, 1797.

August 29th, 1803 left Philadelphia for Bordeaux in the ship Thomas, Captn. Lloyd Jones and made Cordovan lighthouse Oct. 10th, 1803.

I remained at my studies in France until, May 8th, 1805. when I left Bordeaux for Philadelphia in the Same Ship Thomas, Capt. Lloyd Jones, & left the lighthouse May 15th arriving at the Capes of Delaware, July 3d, 1805.

August 7th, 1805 left Philadelphia for Bordeaux in the Same Ship & Captn. leaving the Capes August 17th and made Cordovan light house October 11th, 1805, and proceeded up to the City.

December 13th, 1805 left Bordeaux for New Orleans in Same Ship, passing the lighthouse January 5th, 1806 and touched at Pointe a Petre Guadeloupe february 24th to land some lady passengers. Left there March 11th, and reached the City of New Orleans, April 6th, 1806.

April 22, 1806 Captn. Lloyd Jones, part owner of the Thomas, left & gave command to Captn. Wm. Sayres, Jones going to Philadelphia.

June 25th, 1806 left New Orleans for Bordeaux in Same Ship, reaching Cordovan lighthouse August 15th & proceeded to the city.

October 18th, 1806 left Bordeaux for New Orleans and December 15 off South side of the Isld. of Cuba were made a prize of by H. B. M. Ship Lark of 20 guns, and the brig Mignonne, & ordered to Port Royal, Jamaica

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[2] Franck de la Roche did not realize it, but what he passed off as "the Slave insurrection" was in reality conflict caused by the first step in Napoleon's plan for winning back a colonial empire for France. Had not the Haitians stopped the French generals here, Louisiana would have been invaded next with grave danger to the youthful United States.

where we arrived Decr. 21st where we were detained until february 9, 1807 & then permitted to proceed to New Orleans arriving there March 3d, 1807, shortly after which Captn. Lloyd Jones took charge of the ship Thomas again.

Left New Orleans for Philadelphia April 16, 1807 and arrived in Philadelphia, May 3d, 1807, when shortly afterward, owing to the Chesapeake & Shannon affair,[3] the long Embargo was laid on commerce, which detained me on shore at my English studies until 1809.

May 5th, 1809 left Philadelphia, and on the 9th the Capes of Delaware for Cagliavi, in Sardinia in the ship Active, Captn. Lloyd Jones, where we arrived on the 25th of June and sailed thence June 26th for Palermo, Isld. of Sicily where arrived July 2d, 1809, where we remained until the 5th September when sailed for Philadelphia.

November 27th at th[e Ca]pes, & December 2d at the City.

June 22, 1810 [illegible] bound for Liver [illegible] Ship Thalia of Phila. Captn. Lloyd Jones, arriving there July 24th, 1810.

September 2d left Liverpool for Philadelphia arriving at the Capes October 31st, 1810.

January 10th, 1811 left the city & 12th the Capes bound to Savannah in ship Thalia, Captn. Tristram Gardner, arriving there January 17th.

February 2d, 1811, left Savannah for Lisbon arriving there March 22 and discharged. May 2d, 1811 left Lisbon for Savannah arriving there June 8th and on the 25th left the Thalia at Five fathom hole.

July 5th, 1811 left Savannah for New York in the ship Atalanta of that Port, Capt. Joseph Burnham, arriving there July 10th. July 15 left New York for Savannah as 1st officer of the Packet brig Champlin Capt. Zebulon Miller, arriving there July 22d. July [(illegible) left Savanna]h for New York [illegible] when the Captn. left.

August 12th, 1811 left New York for City of [illegible] as Captn. of Packet Champlin, arriving there August 17th when gave her a thorough repair.

September 16, 1811 left for New York where arrived on the 23d and the yellow fever raging at Savannah she was laid up, on the 28th.

October 5th, 1811 engaged as 1st officer of ship Flora of New London, but Captn. Blake and myself disagreeing, about the 20th I left h[im].

October 21st, 1811 engaged as 1st officer of the Brig Aurora, of & bound to New Orleans. Capt. Saml Lake, leaving New York for N. O. December 2d, 1811 & arriving there Decr. 23d.

There being then every prospect of war with England, and fear of be-

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[3] The writer means the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair of June, 1807, in which the British ship *Leopard* attacked the United States ship without warning in Lynnhaven Bay near Norfolk, Virginia, forced her to strike her colors, and impressed four of her seamen. This was the first time that impressment had been extended to an American vessel, and it caused such an outburst of rage in the United States that President Jefferson was only narrowly able to avert war. The *Chesapeake-Shannon* incident occurred on June 1, 1813, during the War of 1812, in which the British ship issued a challenge to the *Chesapeake* and defeated her in Massachusetts Bay after a brave battle.

ginning any Mercantile operations, I left the Aurora January 25th, 1812 and sailed for Philadelphia in Ship Ohio, Captn. [illegible] on the 27th January, arriving there Febry. 12th, 1812, where I again Joined my old friend Captn. Lloyd Jones.

February 14th, 1812 I became of age & consequently free from my indentural engagement with my old and tried friend Captn. Lloyd Jones & turned my attention to the U. S. Navy for employ.

May 12, 1812. Received the appointment of first Master's mate of the frigate Constellation [4] of 36 guns rate, but carrying 48 and ordered to the New York Station to await a draft of men for her, & Stationed on board Gunboat No. 99, Sailing Master Benn. Briant.

September 1st, 1812 left for Washington to Join the Constellation, repairing there, being partly in charge of a draft of 96 seamen.

October 10th the Constellation anchored off of Greenleafs point.

Nov. 15th. Proceeded down the River Potomac.

January 16th, 1813 sailed from the Potomac to Annapolis, the bay being full of floating ice.

Jany. 26th, 1813. Stood down the bay from Annapolis.

Feby. 2d anchored in Hampton Roadstead.

February 3, 1813. Stood out to Sea, but when off Cape Henry were chased back by four British frigates. Ran up and moored the frigate between forts Norfolk & Nelson in Elizabeth River for the defences of Norfolk, being blockaded by the British Squadron.

February 18th, 1813 was the only officer saved from one of the frigates largest boats (sent out to relieve a vessel chased by the british boats) and which was upset by a flaw of wind. Lieut. Jos. Biggs & Midsn. S. Davis being drowned.

May 11th, 1813. Altho' still attached to the frigate was made Acting Master, and took Command of Gunboat No. 74 anchored near Craney Island, principally manned from the frigate.

June 20th, 1813. proceeded with 14 other gunboats to attack a british frigate, anchored alone in Hampton roads. Began to fire on her at peep of day, being formed in two divisions of boats, one off of her broadside, and the other raking her. In less than one hour we had silenced her, and compelled her to careen, to plug shot holes; when a breeze sprung up, just as we were approaching to capture, or set fire to her, which brought up to her assistance the Majestic Ragee[?], and Narcissus frigate, by which we were beat off and had to return to our anchorage. The frigate

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[4] Older than any other fighting ship of the United States Navy, the *Constellation* was launched in Baltimore in 1797. Her first commander was Commodore Truxton who had supervised her construction. Under him the ship won glory for her victories over the *Insurgente* and *La Vengeance* in the Caribbean during the Franco-American naval war. With Murray in command, the vessel saw action in the War with Tripoli. When the War of 1812 broke out, the frigate was being rebuilt at Washington, and was consequently blockaded in the Chesapeake. The *Constellation* made up for the fame lost here, however, in her later history, serving actively until after the Civil War. The old vessel was subsequently a training vessel, and today continues as an exhibit representative of the early days of the American Navy.

was the Junon, rated 44, which had several killed, & many wounded. (our loss one killed, and several wounded).

June 27th, 1813. At the request of Genl. Taylor [5] Military commander of this division of country, Captn Jos. Tarbell [6] of the Constellation, allowed one hundred and fifty officers, seamen and marines to land on Craney Island,[7] to defend it against an anticipated attack during the night, and we landed there at sunset, and were stationed at a heavy battery near the Channel, where all the guns were mounted on iron, three wheel carriages. Bivouack't there that night.

June 22d, 1813 at break of day the British were discovered landing about 4 miles above us, and two divisions of boats preparing conjointly with the land forces, to attack the Island at its other extremity, where only one 24 one 18 and four 4 pounders could be brought against them, but they were beat off with many killed and wounded, and the loss of four boats, one of them the Admiral's own, the Centepide [Centipede], 58 ft. long, Mldn. B. Dulany, myself & eight men wading off to where she was sunk, and bringing in 26 prisoners from her. The British were about 2500 by land and water, and our force about 550 men of all arms.

August 1st, 1813. Having been promoted for this action, was ordered to Baltimore as Sail-Master of the Sloop of war Erie, building there Captn. C. G. Ridgely,[8] late 1st Lt. of the Constellation.

March 12th, 1814, the Erie being ready and manned dropped below fort McHenry & anchored.

March 20th, 1814. Stood down & anchored off Annapolis.

March 23. Stood down the bay bound to sea, but when off of Gwinn's Island, was chased up again by a seventy four gun ship, & her tender.

March 26. Reached Baltimore again, when men being much wanted on lake Ontario, Capt. Ridgely and the officers and crew (excepting myself, left in command, two officers and twenty men) proceeded there.

August 24th, 1814. Received orders to be aid to Commodore Spence (Robt. T.)[9] commanding this Station, and see to erecting marine batteries.

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[5] Brigadier General Robert Taylor of the Virginia Militia.

[6] Captain Joseph Tarbell (c. 1780-1815) was appointed midshipman on the *Constitution* in 1798 and served on her in the naval war with France. In 1800 he was promoted to lieutenant, serving in the War against Tripoli, 1801-5. Tarbell was master of the Washington Naval Yard in 1806. During the War of 1812, he commanded first the *Constellation* and later the gunboat flotilla. He was finally made captain in 1813.

[7] This island at the mouth of the Elizabeth River was fortified to command Norfolk harbor. The American victory here saved Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport from attack by the British.

[8] Charles Goodwin Ridgely (1784-1848), a native Baltimorean, entered the Navy as midshipman in 1799 to fight France. For his gallant conduct in the Tripolitan War, he received a vote of thanks and a sword. During the War of 1812 he served in the Great Lakes campaign and was promoted to commander in 1813. Later he commanded the West Indies squadron and the Brazil squadron and retired to private life after acting as commandant of the Baltimore Naval Yard.

[9] Robert Trail Spence (c. 1785-1826) of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, became a midshipman in 1800 and was a hero of the War against Tripoli, being promoted to lieutenant in 1807. During the War of 1812, he was praised by Commodore John

September 8th, 1814. Ordered to anchor the Erie under my command, below Fort McHenry to defend the entrance of the Western Branch received officers and men from the Flotilla of Gunboats, and had the boats anchored both a head & a stern of the Erie.

September 12th, 1814 having at daylight discovered that the british had succeeded in forcing three frigates inside of the Man of War Shoals 15 miles below, and were coming up with a fine breeze, contrary to our expectations, I sent word to Commo. J. Rodgers [10] then in command, and as our own broadside was too light to withstand frigates, was ordered to bring the ship near Baltre. again. Began to sink ships in the channel, and then was given by Commo. Rodgers the command of the most advanced battery between the Philadelphia & Sparrows Point road, three hundred yards in advance of all others, of three 12 pounders, thirty two officers & men, and military corps for small arms.

September 14th, 1814. The British having been foiled at all points retreated to their fleet and then proceeded down the bay, and I again took command of the ship Erie.

The winter proved very severe and the Erie was frozen up until february 15th, 1815 when hawled her to Donnell's wharf to refit her.

Peace having been made with England and the Erie being ordered to the Mediteranean, March 25th. Capt. Ridgely, the officers & men returned to the ship from the lake, and all haste was made in preparing for sea.

April 15th, 1815, having been offered the command of several vessels from Baltimore, I obtained a furlough and left the Sloop of war Erie. I first agreed to go as Captain of the Ship Baltimore, but after sometime there, her owner J. Byois and self disagreed and I left her & took charge, as Captn. & Supercargo, of the Brig Eugene of Baltimore belonging to Messrs. Rescaniere & Pascal to proceed to Tappahanock, and there be loaded by Geo. Tyson for Cadiz.

July 2d, 1815. Sailed from Baltimore and on July 5 anchored at Tappahanock and made immediate preparations to take in cargo while here discovered that owing to the age of the brig, she had numerous small leaks.

July 21, 1815. Got underway from Tappahanock & stood down the river Rappahanock for sea.

July 25th. Ran into Hampton Roads & proceeded to Norfolk to ship men which accomplished.

Rodgers for his services in obstructing the British fleet off Baltimore. At the end of the war he was made captain. Ordered to the West Indies fleet in 1826, he died at his seat in Baltimore County before he could take command.

[10] John Rodgers (1773-1838) was born at Lower Susquehanna Ferry, and early entered the merchant trade. He became a second lieutenant on the *Constellation* during the naval war with France, and was made captain in 1799. He returned to the merchant trade in 1801, but entered the Navy again the next year. As commander of the blockading fleet off Tripoli, he fought in the War with the Barbary Corsairs. At the end of the war, Rodgers received command of the New York flotilla and Naval Station. He was a popular hero in the War of 1812, being the ranking officer in active service. When the new Board of Navy Commissioners was created in 1815, the Commodore was appointed to it, and continued to serve in Washington in various capacities until his death.

July 29th. Proceeded to sea, for Cadiz, Spain. Having been much damaged in hull & rigging and the brig leaking dreadfully from the heavy gales in August 1815 I was compelled to bear away for the Western Islands and on August 27, 1815 Anchored at Tayal, where owing to the damaged state of the vessel had to unload & repair, and was detained until October 29 when proceeded on from here for our destination, Cadiz.

November 21st, 1815. Arrived at Cadiz, and I consigned the brig & Cargo to Messrs. Bloomfield & Tunis.

January 1st, 1816. Having finished loading for Baltimore, sailed from Cadiz, this day, and February 17th, 1816 passed Cape Henry & stoop [sic] up bay reached Baltimore city on the 20th February.

Remained in command until March 13th, 1816.

March 26 was married to Miss Anna Maria McNulty and took a regular wedding travel on shore to Washington & elsewhere.

June 8th, 1816, took command of the Schooner Traveller, laying at Geo. Town, D. C.

June 10 left Geo. Town for Baltimore in Schr.

June 21. Reached Baltimore & made preparations to load for the West Indies.

July 12th, 1816. Sailed from Baltimore for St. Thomas.

July 16th. Got to sea.

August 7th. Arrived at St. Thomas' to try the Market.

August 12th. Sailed for Aux Cayes Isld. of Haity.

August 15. Anchored at Aux Cayes, and prepared to unload & reload remaining here until September 7th, 1816 when left Aux Cayes for Baltre.

Septr. 13th then off of Cape Tiberoon, was taken possession of at 7 A.M. by a piratical Schooner manned with whites & blacks, and after most cruel, and shameful treatment, too long to recite here, and which doubtless was only the precursor of taking our lives, which they swore they would do, a chance providentially occurred at nightfall owing to a vessel approaching us, of which they were at first afraid, for us to escape in our two small boats, in which we were on the open ocean with only a bag of bread, only arriving September 15th at Jeremie where an English merchant T. B. Smith, Esq. received us most kindly, 10 in number.

Septr. 21, 1816 left Jeremie with all hands for Aux Cayes in a coasting boat without deck.

Sept. 25, 1816 reached Aux Cayes, made protest and then prepared to return home to Baltimore. Finding there would be no vessel from here for the United States Shortly, I proceeded across the Island to Port Aux Prince in hopes of then Succeeding better but after waiting until the 20th October, 1816, I took passage in the Haitian brig la Confiance, Capt. McHenry for Baltimore where we arrived November 15, 1816. & remained in Baltimore with my family until April 5th, 1817 when I sailed as passenger in ship Philip, Capt. Hancock for Hamburg, being appointed Agent of the Baltimore Insurance office, to proceed to Europe to reclaim & bring home the Schr. Plattsburg from Christiansand and in Norway which had been run away with by the crew who had murdered the Captain, Mate & Supercargo.

May 18th, 1817. I arrived at Hamburg and examined one of the mutineers & recd. some of the cash.

May 30th, left Hamburg for Keil enroute for Copenhagen.

June 1st. Left Kiel and arrived at Copenhagen.

June 2d, 1817 having had a fine passage fm. Kiel, Called on Mr. Säabie, U. S. Consul from whom received every facility & kindness, saw the six mutineers in jail here, & then prepared to leave for Christiansand where the Plattsburg was & shipped a crew for her, here with which June 14th, 1817 left Copenhagen in a Norwegian cutter belong to a Mr. Rosenchild of Christiansand.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES FROM THE "MARYLAND GAZETTE," 1811-1821

Contributed by GEORGE A. MARTIN

(Continued from Vol. XLII, No. 3, Sept. 1947, p. 183)

1811

CONTEE, MRS. SARAH RUSSELL—Departed this life on Dec. 16, 1810, in the 44th year of her age, Mrs. Sarah Russell Contee, wife of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Contee, daughter of the late Philip Thomas Lee, of Annapolis, and granddaughter of the late Richard Lee, of Charles County. (Jan. 2).

KEY, MRS. ANN ARNOLD—Departed this life on the 5th inst., at the seat of Henry Maynadier, in the 84th year of her age, Mrs. Ann Arnold Key, relict of the late Francis Key, of Cecil County. (Jan. 30).

SIGELL, MILBOURN—Departed this life on Monday last [Feb. 25] in this city. Mr. Milbourn Sigell, printer, in the 41st year of his age. He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. (Feb. 27).

WORTHINGTON, BEALE—Married on Thursday evening last [March 7] at the seat of John Worthington, near this city, by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. Beale M. Worthington, to Miss Elizabeth R. Ricketts. (March 13).

IGLEHART, JOHN—Married on Tuesday the 23d ult. [April] in Charles County, by the Rev. Mr. Weems, John Iglehart, of Anne Arundel Co., to Miss Eleanor Smoot. (May 1).

CLAUDE, MRS. ELIZABETH—Departed this life on Monday last [April 29], Mrs. Elizabeth Claude, of this city. (May 1).

KILTY, JOHN—Departed this life on Monday evening last [May 27] John Kilty, late Register of the land office for the Western Shore, of this State. (May 29).

PASCAULT, LEWIS—Married on Thursday evening last [May 30] at White Hall, the seat of Horatio Ridout, by the Rev. Mr. Bitouzey, Lewis Pascault, of the city of Baltimore, to Miss Ann Goldsborough. (June 5).

TUCKER, FRANCIS—Died in this city on Saturday last [June 8] Mr. Francis Tucker, in the 26th year of his age. (June 12).

RIDGELY, HENRY—Died on the 22d ult., at his residence at Elk Ridge, the Hon. Henry Ridgely, Associate Judge of the Third Judicial District, in the 46th year of his age. (June 26).

RIDOUT, MRS. H.—Died on the 11th inst., at White Hall, near this city, Mrs. H. Ridout, consort of Horatio Ridout. (June 26).

JACOB, ZACHARIAH—Died in Baltimore on the 17th Zachariah Jacob, of this county, in the 99th year of his age. (June 26).

CHASE, SAMUEL—Died on the 20th, Hon. Samuel Chase, Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, a patriot of '76, and one of the most eminent citizens of this State. (June 26).

EATON, GEN. WILLIAM—Died at Brinfield, Mass., Gen. William Eaton, the hero of Derne. (June 26).

MANN, MRS. MARY—Departed this life on Saturday morning last [July 6], Mrs. Mary Mann, relict of the late George Mann, of this city. (July 10).

BREWER, WILLIAM—Died at his farm on South River at an advanced age, Mr. William Brewer. (July 10).

NORRIS, JOHN—Married last evening [July 16] by the Rev. Mr. Ryland, Mr. John Norris, to Miss Susan Coulter, all of this city. (July 17).

HOWARD, MISS ANN—Died on Monday last [Sept. 23] in the 14th year of her age, Miss Ann Howard, youngest daughter of the late Samuel H. Howard, of this city. (Sept. 26).

BASSFORD, THOMAS—Married on Thursday evening [Oct. 3] by the Rev. Mr. Ryland, Thomas Bassford, to Mrs. Elizabeth Lusby, all of this city. (Oct. 10).

HARWOOD, BENJAMIN—Married on Thursday evening last [Oct. 10] at the seat of Col. Richard Harwood, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Mr. Benjamin Harwood, of Richard, to the engaging Miss Henrietta Maria Battee. (Oct. 17).

BELMEAR, FRANCIS—Married on Thursday evening last [Oct. 10] at the Head of Severn, Mr. Francis Belmear, to Miss Sarah Warfield. (Oct. 17).

HARWOOD, JAMES—Died on Friday evening last [Oct. 11] in the 24th year of his age, James Harwood, of this city. (Oct. 17).

MAYER, GEORGE C.—Died on Tuesday [Oct. 15] Mr. George C. Mayer, late of the City of Baltimore. (Oct. 17).

PATTERSON, JOHN B.—Married at Cambridge, Dorchester Co., on Thursday, the 3d inst., by the Rev. Doctor Kemp, Mr. John B. Patterson, of Virginia, to the amiable Miss Catharine W. Goldsborough. (Oct. 24).

KERBY, GEORGE—Married on Sunday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Ryland [Oct. 20] Mr. George Kerby, of Anne Arundel Co., to Miss Rebecca Fowler, of this city. (Oct. 24).

CRABB, CHARLES H.—Married at Rockville, Montgomery Co., on Thursday evening, the 28th ult. [Nov.] by the Rev. Mr. Read, Mr. Charles H. Crabb, to the amiable Miss Mary L. Summers. (Dec. 12).

CLAGETT, DOCTOR THOMAS JOHN—Married on Tuesday evening, the 3d inst., at Rockville, Montgomery Co., by the Rev. Mr. Read, Doctor Thomas John Clagett, to the amiable Miss Sophia Martin. (Dec. 12).

GASSAWAY, DOCTOR JOHN—Died in this city on Tuesday night last [Dec. 10] Doctor John Gassaway, of Rhode River. (Dec. 12).

1812

RAWLINGS, JOHN—Departed this life on the 8th inst., at his farm on South River, Mr. John Rawlings, in the 51st year of his age. (Jan. 16).

HEWES, JOHN—Married on Wednesday, the 15th inst., at Friends Meeting, in Baltimore, Mr. John Hewes, proprietor of the Federal Gazette, to Miss Rachel T. Ellicott, daughter of Mr. Elias Ellicott. (Jan. 23).

BOWIE, THOMAS H.—Married on Sunday morning last [Feb. 2] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Thomas H. Bowie, Esq., to Miss Eliza H. Ray. (Feb. 6).

CHILDS, JOHN—Married on Tuesday evening last [Feb. 4] by the

Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Mr. John Childs, to Miss Mary Hyde, all of this city. (Feb. 6).

WALLACE, CHARLES—Departed this life on Thursday last [Feb. 13] at the seat of Mr. Leonard Sellman, on South River, Charles Wallace, Esq., in the 84th year of his age. (Feb. 20).

HAMMOND, JOHN L.—Married on Tuesday, the 18th inst., at the Head of Severn, by the Rev. Mr. Welch, Mr. John L. Hammond, to the amiable Miss Charlotte Maccubbin. (Feb. 27).

TAYLOR, CAPTAIN JOHN—Found dead after a wreck of the sloop Betsey, on March 4. (March 5).

CANN, JAMES—Found dead after a wreck of the sloop Betsey, on March 4. (March 5).

MEEKS, JAMES—Found dead after a wreck of the sloop Betsey, on March 4. (March 5).

MEEKS, AQUILLA—Found dead after a wreck of the sloop Betsey, on March 4. (March 5).

DEAL, MRS. MARY—Departed this life on Wednesday the 25th ult., Mrs. Mary Deal, consort of Capt. James Deal, of Baltimore, and daughter of Mr. Jacob Franklin, of this county. (April 9).

STOCKETT, JOHN B.—Married on Sunday evening [April 19] by the Rev. Mr. Nind, John B. Stockett, to Miss Ann Grayson. (April 23).

CLINTON, GEORGE—Died on Monday morning last [April 20] Mr. George Clinton, Vice President of the United States. (April 23).

STEWART, LESLIE—Married on Wednesday the 29th ult. [April] at St. Michael's Church, Bloomingdale, N. Y., by the Rev. Mr. Jarvis, Leslie Stewart, Esq., of Baltimore, to Miss Maria E. Brenton, of Harlem. (May 7).

DUVALL, MAREEN B.—Died on Monday last [May 4] near the head of Severn, Mr. Mareen B. Duvall. (May 7).

CARROLL, NICHOLAS—Died on Friday last [May 22] Nicholas Carroll, an old inhabitant of this city. (May 28).

BOWIE, MRS. MARY—Died at her seat in Prince George's Co., on Friday the 15th inst., Mrs. Mary Bowie, relict of the late Walter Bowie, in the 65th year of her age. (May 28).

RAWLINGS, GASSAWAY—Died on Wednesday the 24th inst. [June] Mr. Gassaway Rawlings, of Anne Arundel Co. Had he lived one day in addition to those he had already numbered, he would have completed his 69th year. (July 2).

GOLDER, JOHN—Married on Thursday evening last [July 16] near Philadelphia, John Golder, Esq., of this city, to Miss Margaret Matilda M'Mechen, of Philadelphia. (July 23).

WILMORE, THOMAS—Died in this city on Sunday the 16th inst., in the 69th year of his age, Mr. Thomas Wilmore. (Aug. 27).

FOWLER, DANIEL—Died on Sunday last [Aug. 23] at his dwelling on the North side of Severn, Daniel Fowler, formerly an inhabitant of this city. (Aug 27).

HOLLAND, NEHEMIAH—Married on Tuesday evening last [Aug. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Nehemiah Holland, to Miss Anne Glover, all of this city. (Aug. 27).

MERCER, MRS. SOPHIA—Departed this life on Friday the 25th ult., at West River Farm, the seat of her ancestors for several generations, Mrs. Sophia Mercer, wife of John Francis Mercer. (Oct. 1).

DENNY, CAPTAIN ROBERT—Departed this life on Saturday morning last, the 23d inst., Captain Robert Denny, Auditor General of the State, and Auditor of the Court of Chancery, in the 65th year of his age. He was one of the soldiers of our Revolution, and at the time of his decease he held the honourable office of Secretary to the Cincinnati of Maryland. (Oct. 29).

MITCHELL, GENERAL JOHN—Died on Sunday, the eleventh day of Oct., at his farm in Charles Co., Gen. John Mitchell. He was born at that period in the history of America when heroism and love of country were common virtues; moved by the same noble impulse which roused to arms each gallant freeman of Charles, he early entered on a career of glory. His heart beat high with liberty, and he bared his breast in her defence. Proud to serve his country—her good was all he sought—to purchase it, health, friends, life, were but a paltry consideration. Like most of the wreck of that gallant band who survived the storms of war, he was rich in fame, but poor in worldly circumstances. Unfortunately, he attached himself to the faction whom he found alien to gratitude—his application

for compensation for his services met with no encouragement. In vain it was pleaded that he was a remnant of that heroic band who, under the command of the gallant Smallwood, rushed to battle, resolved to conquer or die. Protected by a kind Providence, he escaped the reiterated shocks of war—he lived to feel the ingratitude of his country, and to witness her disgrace. But he has now found a refuge in the silence of the tomb, and, we trust his patriotism will now be rewarded. Light lie the sod that covers the breast of a soldier—honoured be his memory. (Oct. 29).

M'KUBIN, GEORGE—Married on Tuesday evening [Oct. 27] by the Rev. Mr. Nind, George M'Kubin, Esq., to Miss Eleanor Maccubbin. (Oct. 29).

RIDGELY, DR. JOHN—Married on Tuesday evening [Nov. 3] by the Rev. Mr. Addison, Dr. John Ridgely, to the amiable Miss Harriet Callahan. (Nov. 5).

BALDWIN, REZIN—Married on Sunday evening last [Nov. 15] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Rezin D. Baldwin, to Miss Charlotte Sullivan, all of this city. (Nov. 19).

1813

SMILIE, JOHN—Died in this city yesterday afternoon [Jan. 6] the venerable John Smilie, a Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, about 74 years of age. (Jan. 7).

RIDOUT, JOHN—Married at Dover, Del., on the 19th ult. [Jan.] by the Rev. Mr. Derborough, John Ridout, of White Hall, near this city, to Miss Charlsine C. Nixon. (Feb. 11).

WARFIELD, DR. CHARLES ALEXANDER—Departed this life on Friday the 29th ult., at his seat in Anne Arundel Co., Doctor Charles Alexander Warfield, in the sixty-second year of his age. Dr. Warfield was conspicuous among the earliest and most decided patriots in this State who espoused and supported the cause of independence, and he adhered with his latest breath to those great principles of the Revolution which were established and illustrated by the valour and wisdom of Washington. In an arduous course of practice for upwards of forty-two years, Dr. Warfield's skill and benevolence as a physician were equally attested and approved. He had been a member

of the board of examiners of the medical faculty since the second year of its organization; and his professional character had received an honourable tribute of regard by the voluntary appointment of President of the College of Physicians of Maryland lately established in Baltimore. (Feb. 18).

HIGINBOTHOM, REV. RALPH—Departed this life yesterday morning [April 21] the Rev. Ralph Higinbothom, Vice President of St. John's College. (April 22).

SANDERS, JOHN—Died in Harford Co., on Saturday last [May 8], John Sanders, Esq., a Representative from that county in the Legislature of this State. (May 13).

RALPH, GEORGE—Died at Pomona, in Baltimore County, on Monday the 17th inst., Rev. George Ralph, in the 61st year of his age. Mr. Ralph's qualifications as an instructor of youth have been long very generally known. The schools over which he has successively presided since his arrival in this country have supplied our colleges with some of their best scholars. He was a minister of the Episcopal Church. The last appointment he received to the Rhetorical Chair in the University of Maryland evinces the confidence reposed in his learning and talents. (May 27).

M'CAULEY, MRS. ANN—Departed this life on Tuesday the 22d inst., in this county, Mrs. Ann M'Cauley, in the 83d year of her age. (July 1).

HALL, EDWARD—Departed this life on Saturday, the 10th inst., at his residence near West River, Edward Hall, Esq. (July 15).

WEEMS, JOHN—Departed this life on Tuesday, the 7th of Sept., at his residence near Louisville, in the State of Kentucky, John Weems, in the 77th year of his age, late a resident of Anne Arundel Co., Md. (Oct. 21).

TRETCHER, THOMAS—Died on the 22d ult., at Alexandria, Thomas Tretcher, in the 53d year of his age. This gentleman had had the honor of circumnavigating the globe with the celebrated Capt. Cook. (Nov. 4).

CRABB, RICHARD J.—Married on Thursday evening last [Nov. 4] by the Rev. Mr. Nind, Richard J. Crabb, Esq., of Montgomery Co., to Miss Catharine Chase, daughter of the Hon. Jeremiah T. Chase. (Nov. 11).

WOODFIELD, THOMAS—Married on Thursday evening last [Nov. 4] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Thomas Woodfield, to Miss Catharine Plain. (Nov. 11).

MURDOCH, JAMES—Married in Talbot Co., on the 28th ult., [Oct.] by the Rev. William Clark, Mr. James Murdoch, to Miss Catharine Peacock. (Nov. 11).

GOODMAN, MRS. SARAH—Died yesterday [Nov. 10] in this city, Mrs. Sarah Goodman. (Nov. 11).

DELOZIER, DANIEL—Died on Saturday [Nov. 6] at his residence, on the Western Precincts, in the 53d year of his age, Daniel Delozier, Esq., many years Surveyor of the Port of Baltimore. (Nov. 11).

WOODFIELD, THOMAS—Died on Thursday evening last [Nov. 12] at his seat on the south side of South River, Thomas Woodfield. (Nov. 18).

HART, DANIEL—Married on Thursday evening last [Nov. 18] by the Rev. Mr. Joseph Wyatt, Mr. Daniel Hart, to Miss Harriet Smith. (Nov. 25).

PINKNEY, MISS CATHARINE—Died on Monday morning last [Dec. 6] Miss Catharine Pinkney, daughter of Jonathan Pinkney, of this place. (Dec. 9).

STODDERT, BENJAMIN—Died at Bladensburg last Friday [Dec. 23] Benjamin Stoddert, in the 62d year of his age. He was buried on Sunday evening by the side of the mother of his children, at Addison's Chapel. Raised up under the unfavorable circumstances of a want of fortune arising from the death, before his birth, of his father, Captain Stoddert, of Maryland, who commanded and gave name to Fort Stoddert of the West, before the Revolution, he owed everything to the native strength of his mind. His course of reading in his youth, was controuled by his much honoured friend, the venerable Bishop Clagett, and this was scarcely finished before he engaged in the holy struggle for independence. He entered as a captain in the particular regiment officered by Gen. Washington and was in several encounters. At the battle of Brandywine he fought with a heroism that could not be arrested, until he received two severe wounds. After his recovery, he went with an expedition of 400 men against the Indians in the West

of Pennsylvania. From the intemperance of the commanding officer, the command devolved upon him during an engagement, and notwithstanding the horror universally prevailing at that time, about savage warfare, he conducted it in so masterly a manner with such astonishing presence of mind, that he not only saved the detachment which was despaired of—but pursued the enemy—as the accounts published at that time particularly show. When the regiments of Gen. Washington were disbanded for incorporation among the other troops, Mr. Stoddert, with the rank of Major, resigned his commission for the purpose of occupying the post of first secretary to the board of war of Congress. He continued for a length of time in this office. As soon as he returned to his native State, its Legislature elected him in their council, in which he continued as long as he could be of real utility. When he resigned, he settled in Georgetown and engaged so extensively in commerce that he imported goods for most of the leading merchants in Baltimore. As soon as the troubles with the French Government commenced, and it was determined by Congress to have a Navy, President Adams called on Mr. Stoddert to be its first secretary, in Philadelphia—carrying into office his energy, his candor, his patriotism and judgment, Mr. Adams became influenced by his views, and a Navy arose as if from secret contrivance. When the war was ended, he left his office to close his private affairs. (Dec. 29).

1814

ALLEIN, BENJAMIN—Departed this life on Saturday, the 8th inst., in the 47th year of his age. (Jan. 19).

SCOTT, DR. UPTON—Departed this life on Wednesday evening, the 23d ult., at the advanced age of 90 years, Dr. Upton Scott, a native of Ireland, but for more than 60 years a most distinguished inhabitant of this city. (March 3).

AMOS, WILLIAM—Departed this life in Harford Co., on the 26th ult., in the 97th year of his age, William Amos, a much revered member of the Society of Friends and seventy-six years a a member thereof. (March 24).

TACK, WASHINGTON G.—Married in Calvert Co., on the 17th

inst., by the Rev. Mr. Smith, Mr. Washington G. Tack, of this city, to Miss Rachel Whittington. (March 24).

RIDGELY, DAVID—Married on Tuesday evening last [April 12] by the Rev. Alfred Griffith, Mr. David Ridgely, of this city, to Miss Julia Maria Woodfield, of Anne Arundel Co. (April 14).

WILKINS, MRS. SARAH—Died in Baltimore on Saturday morning last [April 23] Mrs. Sarah Wilkins, aged 72, consort of William Wilkins, Sr. (April 28).

MORRIS, SARAH ANN—Died at the Government House in this city, Friday morning last [May 6] Sarah Ann, daughter of John B. Morris, Esq., Port Tobacco, aged 12 months. (May 12).

KENT, CAPTAIN ROBERT—Married on Tuesday evening last [June 7] by the Rev. Mr. Nind, Captain Robert Kent, of Prince George's Co., to Miss Mary Ann Maccubin, of this city. (June 9).

HOLLAND, HENRY S.—Married on Tuesday evening last [June 21] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Henry S. Holland, to Miss Susan Darnall, both of this city. (June 23).

WEEMS, JOHN B.—Died on Thursday night last [June 22] at his residence in this county, Mr. John B. Weems. (June 23).

SHAW, THOMAS—Married at Frederick-Town on the 21st ult., by the Rev. Mr. Shaffer, Thomas Shaw, esq., cashier of the Frederick Branch Bank, to the agreeable Miss Maria Sophia Morris. (Aug. 4).

BEVANS, GEORGE—Died at Talley's Point, near this city, on Monday morning last [Aug. 1] George Bevans, Esq. (Aug. 4).

STOCKETT, MRS. ANNE CAROLINE—Died on Thursday the 22d inst., at her husband's residence in South River Neck, Mrs. Anne Caroline Stockett, in the 18th year of her age, wife of Mr. Joseph N. Stockett. (Dec. 29).

1815

FULTON, ROBERT—Died yesterday morning [Feb. 24] between 9 & 10 o'clock, Robert Fulton, Esq. Mr. F. was aged about 42 years, and has been sick for ten days, of a complication of disorders arising principally from exposure to the weather at this season, in the pursuit of objects which were calculated to

increase the national greatness. These objects were steam vessels of war, and a safe and certain method of submarine explosions; the first is happily so far completed, in the steam Frigate Fulton, the First, that she may be finished by other hands; the other although success was (as he thought) within his grasp, may by his death be never accomplished, but those great improvements in steam vessels of war, which he so confidently predicted to his friends, can never for the want of his genius be realized. Mr. Fulton's loss is considered the greatest the United States has sustained since the death of General Hamilton, and is the only loss for which the public has no indemnity. Politicians, Historians, Poets, etc., are found throughout the United States, and readily succeed to each other, but there is no person who will succeed to Mr. F's genius as a mechanic, or be capable of prosecuting those schemes which he has left in an unfinished state. Mr. F. has immortalized his memory by the invention of steam boats as they are now in use, but that invention is considered far short of what he would have accomplished, had it pleased Heaven to have spared his life for a few years more. He has left a widow and 4 infant children to lament his loss. (March 2).

Roboson, Mrs. Mary—Departed this life on Sunday morning last [April 23] Mrs. Mary Roboson, relict of Col Elijah Roboson, in the 62d year of her age. Her venerable mansion, situated on the public line from the Severn Ferry to Baltimore was always a receptacle for the wearied traveller, it was under her roof they found repose. (April 27).

Boone, James—Died on the 20th [April] on the north side of Severn, of the prevailing epidemic, Mr. James Boone. (May 4).

Hatherly, John—Died on Friday the 28th [April] Mr. John Hatherly, late examiner-general of the Western Shore of this State. (May 4).

Brown, Basil—Died on Tuesday last [May 2] at his residence on the Head of Severn, Mr. Basil Brown. (May 4).

Elliott, Mrs. Catherine—Departed this life on Thursday, the 4th, inst., at her residence in Anne Arundel Co., Mrs. Catharine Elliott, in the 90th year of her age. (May 18).

Marriott, Rezin H.—Died in this city on Thursday last [May

11] of the prevailing epidemic, Mr. Rezin H. Marriott. (May 18).

DAVIS, ROBERT, JR.—Died on Monday [May 15] of the epidemic, at Col. Duvall's dwelling, Mr. Robert Davis, Junior. (May 18).

STODDERT, JOHN T.—Married on Tuesday evening [May 23] by the Rev. Mr. Duncan, John T. Stoddert, Esq., of Charles Co., to the amiable and engaging Miss Elizabeth Gwinn, of this city. (May 25).

STOCKETT, MRS. MARY—Departed this life on the 14th inst., in the 63rd year of her age, Mrs. Mary Stockett, of South River. (June 15).

SIMPSON, THOMAS—Died on Tuesday morning last [July 25] at the residence of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Esq., in this city, Mr. Thomas Simpson. (July 27).

CRAGGS, MRS. MARY—Departed this life on Saturday the 5th of August, at Hammond's Ferry, after a long illness, Mrs. Mary Craggs, aged 67. (Aug. 17).

OGLE, MRS. H.—Died in this city on Monday morning [Aug. 14] Mrs. H. Ogle, after a tedious illness. (Aug. 17).

KEY, PHILIP BARTON—Died on the 28th ult. [July] at his seat near Georgetown, Philip Barton Key, Esq. As a politician he was eminent, and sat as a representative in the tenth, eleventh and thirteenth Congress from the adjoining District of Maryland. As a lawyer he stood in the first rank of his profession; as a gentleman he was greatly respected, even by those who least admired him as a politician. (Aug. 17).

BAYARD, JAMES ASHETON—Expired on Sunday evening last [Aug. 6] upon his return from the mission at Ghent, which restored peace to his country. Almost with the annunciation of his return, goes forth the melancholy tidings of his death. To see again his family and country from which he had been so long separated, became, during his illness in Paris, the ruling impulse of his heart; and although too feeble to undertake the voyage with more hope of living to complete it, he apprehending his disease to be trivial, resolved to attempt it. He lived to return to see his wife, his children, and his friends, and breathe the air of his native land. In the midst of his sufferings, he rejoiced that this, the first wish of his heart, was

gratified. He brought back a body worn out by disease; but his powerful mind was unimpaired. It was the only natural feature which remained. It towered amidst the ruins by which it was surrounded, and yielded but to the stroke of death. He had, through a long course of public services, sacrificed to his country his private feelings and domestic comforts. He has now made the last sacrifice—his life! To his country it belongs to cherish and preserve his fame. The remains of Mr. Bayard will be taken to Bohemia, Maryland, instead of being buried here as was contemplated. (Communicated from The Delaware Gazette, Wilmington, Del.) (Aug. 17).

TURNER, MRS. MARIA—Departed this life on Wednesday the first inst., Mrs. Maria Turner, wife of Mr. Thomas Turner, and daughter of Augustine Gambrill. She was in her 17th year. (Nov. 9).

FRANKLIN, MRS. ELIZA—Departed this life on Monday last [Nov. 13] Mrs. Eliza Franklin, consort of Thomas Franklin, of this city. (Nov. 16).

RANDALL, BEALE—Married on Thursday evening the 9th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Reid, Beale Randall, of Baltimore County, to Miss Martha Robosson, of Anne Arundel Co. (Nov. 23).

DAVIDSON, MRS. ELEANOR—Departed this life on Tuesday night last in this city [Dec. 12] at an advanced age, Mrs. Eleanor Davidson, relict of the late John Davidson. (Dec. 14).

O'REILY, DOCTOR POLYDORE E.—Departed this life on Wednesday last [Dec. 20] Doctor Polydore E. O'Reily in the 32d year of his age. For several years Doctor O'Reily pursued his professional vocations on Magothy, in this county. (Dec. 21).

JOYCE, JOHN—Died on Tuesday morning last [Dec. 19] at his residence in this county, John Joyce, in the 25th year of his age. (Dec. 21).

1816

SANDERS, WILLIAM—Married on Thursday evening last [Feb. 1] in this county by the Rev. Mr. Duncan, William Sanders, to Miss Eliza Smith. (Feb. 8).

MARTIN, DANIEL—Married in this city on Tuesday evening [Feb. 6] by the Rev. Mr. Ryland, Daniel Martin, of Talbot County, to Miss Mary C. Maccubbin, of this place. (Feb. 8).

CLAUDE, DENNIS—Married on Tuesday evening last [Feb. 13] by the Rev. Mr. Ryland, Dennis Claude, to Miss Anne Jacob, all of this city. (Feb. 15).

M'PHERSON, MISS CATHARINE—Died on the 23rd [March] at her residence in Charles Co., Miss Catharine M'Pherson, in the 68th year of her age. (April 4).

MANN, WILLIAM H.—Died in this city on Thursday evening last [May 9] in the 30th year of his age, William H. Mann. (May 16).

CALLAHAN, THOMAS—Departed this life on Thursday the 4th inst., Thomas Callahan, an old respectable inhabitant of this city. (July 11).

GEDDES, DAVID R.—Died in this city on Tuesday [July 23] David R. Geddes. (July 25).

CLAGGETT, REV. THOMAS JOHN—Died in Prince-George's Co., on Friday the 2d inst., the Right Rev. Thomas John Claggett, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland. (Aug. 15).

GASTON, WILLIAM—Married on Tuesday the 3d inst., the Hon. William Gaston, of North Carolina, to Miss Eliza Ann Worthington, eldest daughter of Doctor Charles Worthington, of Georgetown, District of Columbia. (Sept. 12).

M'NIER, GEORGE—Married in this city on Sunday the 1st inst., by the Rev. Mr. Wells, George M'Nier, to Miss Elizabeth Thompson, all of this city. (Sept. 12).

LEE, JESSE—Departed this life on the 12th inst., at Hillsborough, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in the 59th year of his age, the Rev. Jesse Lee, late chaplain to Congress, and 33 years a respectable itinerant preacher among the Methodists. He was interred in the Methodist grave yard in Baltimore, at his request. (Sept. 26).

DAVIS, REV. HENRY L.—Married on Sunday evening the 22d inst., at Richland, the seat of William Campbell, by the Rev. Frederick W. Hatch, the Rev. Henry L. Davis, of Annapolis, to Miss Jane B. Winter, of Frederick Co. (Oct. 3).

MOORE, COLONEL NICHOLAS RUXTON—Died yesterday [Oct. 9] in Baltimore in the 62d year of his age, Colonel Nicholas Ruxton Moore, late a member of Congress, and commandant

of a Cavalry Regiment attached to the 3d Division of M. M. Col. M. was one of those worthies who so nobly achieved the independence we now enjoy. He has left a wife and four children to mourn his loss. (Oct. 10).

CHASE, THOMAS—Married on Thursday evening last [Oct. 17] by the Rev. Mr. Davis, Thomas Chase, of Baltimore to Miss Matilda Chase, daughter of the Hon. Jeremiah T. Chase. (Oct. 24).

SEARS, WILLIAM—Married on Thursday last [Oct. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Davis, William Sears, of Talbot Co., to Miss Elizabeth Murdoch, of this city. (Oct. 31).

PARLIN, WILLIAM M.—Married on Sunday evening last [Dec. 16] by the Rev. George Wells, William M. Parlin, of this city, to Miss Cassandra Woodward, of Prince George's Co., Md. (Dec. 19).

CURRAM, BARNEY—Died on Tuesday morning [Dec. 17] Barney Curram, merchant, of this city. (Dec. 19).

BALDWIN, NICHOLAS—Died on Monday [Dec. 16] at his residence near this city, Nicholas Baldwin. (Dec. 19).

PARKER, MRS. MARGARET—Died on the 9th inst., at Broad Creek, Kent Island, Queen Anne's Co., Mrs. Margaret Parker, wife of Isaac Parker, in the 29th year of her age. She leaves a husband and five small children. (Dec. 19).

FRANKLIN, CAPT. JACOB, JUN.—Departed this life at his residence near West River on Friday last [Dec. 20] Capt. Jacob Franklin, Jun. The complaint which terminated the earthly career of this worthy gentleman is supposed to have been brought on by the fatigue and exposure which he endured during the late war. (Dec. 26). (Note: The issue of Jan. 2, 1817, gives his age as 38 years).

1817

WEYLIE, REV. JOHN V., A. M.—Departed this life on Sunday last [Jan. 26] in the 41st year of his age, the Rev. John V. Weylie, A. M., professor of the Latin and Greek languages in St. John's College. He was born in Cecil Co., in this State, and was indebted for his education to the benevolence of the virtuous Washington, and is mentioned in terms of respect in one

of the biographical memoirs of that illustrious man. At an early period of his life he devoted himself to the study of Divinity, and was ordained to the office of Deacon in the P. E. Church, by Bishop Madison of Va. (Jan. 30).

SHERBERT, MRS. MARGARET—Died in this city on Sunday morning [Jan. 26] Mrs. Margaret Sherbert. (Jan. 30.)

NICHOLSON, HON. JOSEPH HOPPER—Died yesterday [March 12] Hon. Joseph Hopper Nicholson, aged 47 years, Chief Judge of the 6th Judicial District and a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Maryland. (March 13).

VANHORN, ARCHIBALD—Died at his seat in Prince George's Co., Archibald Vanhorn a member of the Senate of the State, and formerly a Representative in Congress from the Second District. (March 13).

WELLS, DANIEL, SR.—Died on Friday morning [May 28] in the 75th year of his age, Daniel Wells, Sr. (May 29).

RIDGELY, MRS. JULIA M.—Died on Friday [May 28] Mrs. Julia M. Ridgely, wife of David Ridgely, in the 23d year of her age. (May 29).

WORTHINGTON, JOHN—Died at his farm, near this city, on Friday morning last [June 4] in the 65th year of his age, John Worthington. (June 5).

KEATINGE, GEORGE—Married in this city on Monday last [July 14] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, George Keatinge, of Westminster, Frederick Co., to Miss Mary Ann Caton, of this place. (July 17).

OGLE, MRS. ANNE—Departed this life in this city on Thursday the 14th inst., Mrs. Anne Ogle, at the advanced age of 94 years. Her remains were interred in the family vault at White Hall, the seat of Horatio Ridout. (Aug. 21).

FOWLER, JUBB—Died on Tuesday last [Sept. 9] at an advanced age, Jubb Fowler, an old and respectable inhabitant of this city. (Sept. 11).

RAMSAY, COL. NATHANIEL—Died at Baltimore on the 24th ult., Col. Nathaniel Ramsay, who in the Revolutionary War distinguished himself as a brave meritorious and humane officer. He was loved and esteemed by that great, good and discerning man, General Washington. At the battle of Monmouth, when

our army was pressed by the enemy advancing rapidly, General Washington asked for an officer. Col. Ramsay presented himself. The General took him by the hand and said: "If you can stop the British ten minutes (till I form) you will save my army." Col. Ramsay answered, "I will stop them or fall." He advanced with his party, engaged and kept them in check for half an hour; nor did he retreat until the enemy and his troops were mingled, and at last in the rear of his troops, fighting his way, sword in hand, fell pierced with many wounds, in sight of both armies—add to this, he was one of the best husbands, fathers, and friends, in the world. He will forever be lamented by his neighbors and all who knew him. (Nov. 6).

MUNROE, JOHN—Died on Monday morning [Nov. 17] in the 55th year of his age, John Munroe, postmaster, in this city. (Nov. 20).

1818

MAYNARD, MRS. MARY—Departed this life on Thursday morning the 1st of Jan., at an advanced age, Mrs. Mary Maynard, of this city. (Jan. 8).

GODDARD, WILLIAM—Died at Providence, R. I., on Tuesday morning last [Dec. 30] William Goddard. He was the first Editor of the Providence Gazette, which paper he established in 1762. He had just completed his 77th year. (Jan. 8).

THOMAS, JOHN—Married in Philadelphia on Wednesday evening, the 31st of Dec., 1817, by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, John Thomas, of West River, Md., to Miss Elizabeth Murray, daughter of Com. Alexander Murray. (Jan. 15).

DUVALL, EDMUND B.—Married in Baltimore on Tuesday evening the 6th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Richards, Edmund B. Duvall, of Prince-George's Co., to Miss Augusta M'Causland, daughter of Marcus M'Causland. (Jan. 15).

WOOLFORD, DR. THOMAS—Married on Tuesday evening the 6th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Weller, Dr. Thomas Woolford, to Miss Margaret Lecompte, all of Cambridge, Dorchester Co. Jan. 15).

GASSAWAY, CAPT. HENRY—Died on Tuesday morning, the 10th inst., Capt. Henry Gassaway, a meritorious officer of the Revolutionary Army. (Feb. 26).

SCOTT, MRS. SARAH CORNISH—Died, Mrs. Sarah Cornish Scott, consort of Leonard Scott, merchant, in the 41st year of her age. (Feb. 26).

GOODMAN, WILLIAM—Married on Sunday evening, the 8th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Fechlig, Mr. William Goodman, to Mrs. Sarah Goodwin. (March 12).

THOMPSON, WILLIAM R.—Married on Sunday evening, the 8th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, William R. Thompson, to Miss Eliza Weedon, all of this city. (March 12).

MAXCY, JULIANA HOWARD—Died on the first inst., at Tulip Hill, Juliana Howard Maxcy, youngest daughter of Hon. Virgil Maxcy. (March 12).

THOMPSON, JOHN—Married on Sunday evening last [March 29] by the Rev. Mr. Davis, John Thompson, printer, to Miss Eleanor Glover, both of this city. (April 2).

WILLIAMS, JAMES—Died on Saturday the 18th inst., aged 77 years, James Williams. (April 23).

LEE, MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY—Died in the 61st year of his age, on the 25th of March, at the house of a friend, on Cumberland Island, Georgia, on his return from the West Indies to his native State, Virginia, Major-General Henry Lee, a conspicuous officer in the Revolutionary Army. He entered as a Captain of Cavalry, in the Virginia Line, at the age of 19, in which situation he soon commanded the respect and attention of his country. He was rapidly promoted to the rank of Major, and soon after to that of Lieutenant Colonel commandant of a separate legionary corps. While major he planned and executed the celebrated attack on the enemy's post at Paulus Hook, opposite to the city of New York, their headquarters; surprised and took the garrison under the eye of the British army and navy, and safely conducted his prisoners into the American lines, many miles distant from the post taken. Sometime after, he accompanied General Greene to the Southern Department of the United States, subsequently to the memorable and disastrous battle of Camden, which reduced under the power of the enemy the three States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. At the close of the Revolutionary War he returned to the walks of civil life. He was often a member of the Legislature of the State of Vir-

ginia, one of its delegates to Congress under the confederation, and one of the convention which adopted the present constitution of the United States. He was three years Governor of the State, and afterwards a Representative in the Congress of the United States, under the present organization. While Governor of Virginia, he was selected by President Washington to command the army sent to quell the insurrection which had been excited from untoward and erroneous impressions in the western counties of Pennsylvania, in which he had the felicity to bring to order and obedience the misguided inhabitants without shedding the blood of one fellow citizen. He has left behind him a valuable historical work entitled "Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States." (April 23).

WEYLIE, MRS. MARTHA M. J.—Departed this life on Tuesday evening, the 28th, Mrs. Martha M. J. Weylie, eldest daughter of Mrs. M. Robinson of this city, and relict of the late Rev. John V. Weylie. (April 30).

ARMISTEAD, COL. GEORGE—It is with feelings of the deepest sorrow and regret that we perform the painful duty of announcing to the public the death of Col. George Armistead, the gallant defender of Fort M'Henry. On this melancholy occasion, the recollection of the ever memorable 14th of Sept., naturally occurs to our mind—when the Star Spangled Banner waved in proud defiance to a formidable foe; and after a furious bombardment of twenty-three hours, continued to float triumphantly on the ramparts—then it was that Baltimore was saved, and a wreath of never fading laurel encircled the departed hero's brow. (April 30).

CHILDS, BENJAMIN—Married in this city on Tuesday evening last [May 12] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Benjamin Childs, of Baltimore, to Miss Elizabeth Munroe, of this place. (May 14).

PINDELL, BENJAMIN—Married on Sunday evening [June 14] at Pleasant Plains, the seat of Mr. Frederick Grammer, by the Rev. Mr. Hammond, Mr. Benjamin Pindell, to Miss Juliana Anderson. (June 18).

MERCER, JOHN—Married on the 25th of June, by the Rev. Mr. Norris, John Mercer, of West River, to Mary Swann, only daughter of Thomas Swann, of Alexandria. (July 2).

MILLER, JOHN—Married on Sunday evening last [June 28] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Mr. John Miller, to Miss Margaret Schurar, all of this city. (July 2).

PARKINSON, RICHARD—Married on Sunday evening last [July 5] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Richard Parkinson, to Miss Susanna Welch, all of this city. (July 9).

CONTEE, PHILIP A. L.—Married on Thursday the 2d inst., at Bremont, the seat of James Clerklee, by the Rev. Charles Mann, Philip A. L. Contee, of Westmoreland Co., Va., to Miss Ann R. Clerklee, of Charles County, Md. (July 16).

RIDGELY, ABSALOM—Died on Monday afternoon [July 13] Absalom Ridgely, in the 26th year of his age. (July 16).

BORDLEY, JOHN W.—Married on Thursday evening last [Aug. 6] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, John W. Bordley, to Mrs. Sarah Whittington, all of this city. (Aug. 13).

HYDE, DANIEL T.—Married on Sunday evening last [Sept. 7] by the Rev. Mr. Welch, Daniel T. Hyde, to Miss Anne Merriken, both of this city. (Sept. 10).

WATTS, MRS. ANNE—Died in this city on Monday night last [Sept. 8] Mrs. Anne Watts. (Sept. 10).

JAVIS, JOHN—Died on Tuesday morning last [Sept. 15] at an advanced age, Mr. John Javis, an old inhabitant of this city. (Sept. 17).

MARRIOTT, EPHRAIM—Married on Thursday last [Oct. 1] by the Rev. Mr. Coleman, Ephraim Marriott, to Miss Sarah Nicholls, all of Anne Arundel Co. (Oct. 8).

BASSFORD, JOHN—Died on Thursday the 1st inst., at his farm in Anne Arundel Co., John Bassford, in the 70th year of his age. (Oct. 8).

FRANKLIN, THOMAS—Married in this city, on Thursday evening last [Nov. 12] by the Rev. Mr. Davis, Thomas Franklin, to Miss Elizabeth Shaw. (Nov. 19).

WILLIAMS, THOMAS—Married on Sunday evening following [Nov. 8] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Thomas Williams, to Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe. (Nov. 19).

BARNEY, COMMODORE JOSHUA—Died at Pittsburg, Pa., on the 1st inst., Commodore Joshua Barney, a hero of the Revolution. (Dec. 10).

RIDGELY, DAVID—Married in Baltimore on Tuesday the 15th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Jennings, Mr. David Ridgely, of this city, to Miss Maria Sellman, of the former place. (Dec. 24).

BALDWIN, WILLIAM P.—Married in this city on Tuesday evening last [Dec. 22] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, William P. Baldwin, of Easton, Talbot Co., to Miss Caroline Williams, of New Castle Co., Del. (Dec. 24).

BASIL, JOHN—Married on Tuesday evening [Dec. 22] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, John Basil, to Miss Lydia Anderson, all of this city. (Dec. 24).

1819

RIDGELY, NICHOLAS—Married on Sunday evening [Jan. 17] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Nicholas Ridgely, to Mrs. Jemima Merriken, all of this city. (Jan. 21).

CHASE, RICHARD M.—Married on Thursday evening last [Jan. 28] by the Rev. Mr. Davis, Richard M. Chase, to Miss Mary Marriott, all of this city. (Feb. 1).

DUNCAN, REV. WILLIAM—Died on the 3d inst., at his residence on South River, in the 56th year of his age, the Rev. William Duncan, Rector of Allhallows Parish, Anne Arundel Co. (March 11).

WARFIELD, THOMAS—Died on Sunday morning at his residence in this county, Thomas Warfield, in the 74th year of his age. (March 11).

WARFIELD, SINGLETON—Died on Monday morning [March 8] Mr. Singleton Warfield, son of Thomas Warfield. (March 11).

COLBURN, MILTON FRANCIS—Married on Sunday last [April 25] at White Marsh, Prince George's Co. by the Rev. Bishop Coleman, Milton Francis Colburn, to Miss Mary Teresa Murdoch, both of this city. (April 29).

HUNTER, JAMES—Married on Thursday evening last [May 20] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, James Hunter, to Miss Mary Miller. (May 27).

SEWELL, BENJAMIN—Married in Baltimore on Sunday evening last [May 23] by the Rev. Thomas Burch, Benjamin Sewell, of this city, to Miss Mary Smith, daughter of John Smith, of the former place. (May 27).

HARWOOD, RICHARD H.—Departed this life on Friday night, the 21st inst., in this city, Richard H. Harwood. (May 27).

WINDER, GEN. LEVIN—It becomes our painful duty to record the death of Gen. Levin Winder, late Governor of this State, and R. W. Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the State of Maryland, who died on the 1st inst. in the 63rd year of his age. General Winder entered the armies of our country at the early age of eighteen, at a period when every heart throbbed with anxiety for the fate of the Republic, and remained in active service, heedless of danger and regardless of personal welfare, until a glorious peace terminated the arduous contest for liberty when, having witnessed his country enjoying that repose which so much blood was shed to obtain, he retired to the calm retreats of domestic life. (July 8).

WEEDON, JONATHAN—Married on Thursday evening last [July 29] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Jonathan Weedon, to Miss Margaret Hutton, all of this city. (Aug. 5).

MILLS, JONAS—Died on Sunday last on board his schooner the Tantamount, in our harbour, Capt. Jonas Mills. He was from Salem and has left a wife and six children. (Aug. 5).

SCOTT, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died in this city, on Tuesday night last [Sept. 7] at an advanced age, Mrs. Elizabeth Scott, the venerable relict of the late Dr. Scott. (Sept. 9).

HAMMOND, DR. MATTHIAS—Died at his residence in this county, on [Sept. 7] Dr. Matthias Hammond, in the zenith of manhood. (Sept. 9).

GOLDSBOROUGH, ROBERT HENRY—Died on Thursday morning the 9th inst., Robert Henry Goldsborough, in the 5th year of his age, son of the Governor of Maryland. (Sept. 16).

BORDLEY, JOHN W.—Died on Saturday the 4th inst., at the residence of his father, in Kent Co., John W. Bordley, of this city. He had just completed the twenty-third year of his age. (Sept. 16).

CLAGGETT, WALTER—Died at his late residence in this city on Sunday evening last [Sept. 19] Mr. Walter Claggett. (Sept. 23).

HYDE, JOHN—Died in this city on Monday morning [Sept. 13] Mr. John Hyde. (Sept. 23).

STEELE, JOHN N.—Married near Hagerstown, John N. Steele, of this city, to Miss Ann O. Buchanan, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Buchanan. (Oct. 14).

WHITE, THOMAS—Married on Thursday evening last [Oct. 13] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Thomas White, to Miss Mary Atkinson. (Oct. 21).

MURDOCH, WILLIAM—Married on Sunday evening following [Oct. 10] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, William Murdoch, to Miss Juliet Shepherd, all of this city. (Oct. 21).

WARFIELD, PHILEMON—Married on Sunday evening last [Oct. 24] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Philemon Warfield, of this county, to Miss Ann Wright, of this city. (Oct. 28).

MITCHELL, ALEXANDER—Died in this city on Friday morning last [Oct. 22] Alexander Mitchell, in the 23rd year of his age. (Oct. 28).

RAFFERTY, MRS.—Departed this life on Saturday the 30th ult., in the 34th year of her age, Mrs. Rafferty, consort of the Rev. Wm. Rafferty, professor of languages in St. John's College. The deceased had been but a short time among us—she was lately from New York. (Nov. 11).

JOHNSON, THOMAS—Died on Tuesday morning, the 26th ult., at Rose Hill, the seat of John Grahame, near the close of his 87th year the venerable patriot, Thomas Johnson, a native of Calvert Co., in this State, and for the last forty years of his life a resident in this county [Frederick]. He was the first Governor of the State after the declaration of Independence. His body was interred in the family vault in the Episcopal burial ground of this city [Frederick-Town]. (Nov. 18).

LEE, THOMAS SIM—Died on Tuesday the 9th at Needwood, Frederick Co., Thomas Sim Lee, in the 75th year of his age. Mr. Lee bore a conspicuous part in the arduous struggle for independence—was second Governor of Maryland, and immediate successor of the late Governor Johnson. (Nov. 18).

HENDRY, THOMAS—Married on Sunday evening last [Nov. 14] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Thomas Hendry, to Miss Margaret Slicer, all of this city. (Nov. 18).

HALL, WILLIAM I.—Married on Thursday evening last [Nov. 18] by the Rev. Mr. Gibson, William I. Hall, to Miss Margaret Harwood, all of Anne Arundel Co. (Nov. 25).

GIBSON, JOHN—Died at his seat near Magothy River, on Monday morning last [Dec. 6] John Gibson. (Dec. 9).

RIDGELY, RICHARD—Married on Tuesday evening [Dec. 14] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Richard Ridgely, to Miss Mary Jane Brewer, daughter of Nicholas Brewer, all of this city. (Dec. 16).

MURRAY, DR. JAMES—Died in this city on the 17th inst., in the 30th year of his age, Dr. James Murray. (Dec. 30).

WILLIAMS, GEN. OSBORN—Died at his farm near this city on the 27th inst., General Osborn Williams. (Dec. 30).

1820

BREWER, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Saturday night last [Jan. 1] Mr. Elizabeth Brewer, consort of John Brewer, clerk of the House of Delegates. (Jan. 6).

WAYMAN, THOMAS—Married on Sunday evening last [Jan. 16] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Mr. Thomas Wayman, of Anne Arundel Co., to Miss Elizabeth Cratchley, of this city. (Jan. 20).

VALLEIN, JOSEPH—Married on Thursday evening last [Jan. 27] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Joseph Vallein, to Miss Mary Ann Norman, all of this city. (Feb. 3).

WYVILL, DR. WALTER W.—Married on Tuesday evening last [Feb. 28] by the Rev. Mr. Guest, Dr. Walter W. Wyvill, of Anne Arundel Co., to Miss Margaret Murdoch, of this city. (March 2).

GARLINER, THOMAS—Married on Tuesday evening last [March 14] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Thomas Garliner, to Miss Susan Brewer, all of this city. (March 16).

CHILDS, MRS. MARY—Died in this city on Friday morning last [April 14] Mrs. Mary Childs, after a distressing illness. (April 20).

HOLLAND, ISAAC—Married on Thursday last [April 27] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Isaac Holland, to Miss Mary Sherbert, all of this city. (May 4).

WILLIAMS, HENRY—Married on Sunday evening last [April 30] by the Rev. Mr. Welch, Henry Williams, of Magothy, to Miss Louisa Wheedon, of this city. (May 4).

WHITE, CAPTAIN K.—Married on Tuesday last [May 2] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Captain K. White, of the city of Baltimore, to Miss Elizabeth Ross, of this city. (May 4).

WORTHINGTON, MISS ELIZABETH—Departed this life in the city of Annapolis on Saturday the 29th day of April last, Miss Elizabeth Worthington, daughter of Col. Nicholas and Catharine Worthington. (May 4).

MUNROE, HORATIO G.—Died in this city yesterday morning [May 10] Mr. Horatio G. Munroe, merchant. (May 11).

GAMBRILL, DR. STEVENS—Married on the 11th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Welch, Dr. Stevens Gambrill, to Miss Elizabeth Gambrill, all of this county. (May 18).

CONNOR, MARMADUKE W.—Married on Sunday evening last [May 14] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Marmaduke W. Conner, to Miss Sarah Wessels, all of this city. (May 18).

NICHOLLS, NELSON—Married on Sunday evening [May 14] by the Rev. H. L. Davis, Nelson Nicholls, of this city, to Miss Rachel Ann Nicholls, of the county. (May 18).

GAITHER, EPHRAIM—Married on Tuesday evening [May 16] by the Rev. Mr. Davis, Ephraim Gaither, of Montgomery Co., to Miss Sarah E. Goldsborough, of this city. (May 18).

MAXCY, REV. JONATHAN—Died, the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, President of Columbia College, South Carolina, at his residence at that place on the 4th inst. (June 22).

SEWELL, JOHN M.—Died at Port Au Prince, on the 17th ult. [July] Mr. John M. Sewell, a native of Anne Arundel Co. (Aug. 10).

KNAPP, JOHN—Died in the city of Washington on the 31st ult. [July] John Knapp, for many years a clerk in the office of the Comptroller of the Treasury. (Aug. 10).

MEDKIFF, GEORGE—Died in this city on Saturday evening, the 12th inst., George Medkiff. (Aug. 17).

BATTEE, JOHN OSBORN—Died in this city on Sunday the 13th inst., John Osborn Battee, in the 18th year of his age. (Aug. 17).

BARBER, MISS SUSAN MATILDA—Died on Saturday evening last [Sept. 9] in the 15th year of her age, Miss Susan Matilda Barber, only daughter of Capt. John T. Barber, of this city. (Sept. 14).

HOHNE, WESTOLL—Married on Thursday evening last [Oct. 19] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Westoll Hohne, to Miss Sophie Cross, all of this city. (Oct. 26).

HARWOOD, EDWARD—Died on Friday evening the 3d ult., in Upper Marlborough, Edward Harwood. (Nov. 9).

MEAD, BENJAMIN—Married in Baltimore on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Tydings, Benjamin Mead, of this city, to Miss Louisa C. Rousell, of the former place. (Nov. 30).

SULLIVAN, LEMUEL—Married on Sunday evening last [Dec. 10] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Lemuel Sullivan, to Miss Willy Gardner, all of this city. (Dec. 14).

SCOTT, WILLIAM—Married on Sunday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Emory, William Scott, to Miss Eliza Bryan, both of this county. (Dec. 14).

STANSBURY, JOSEPH—Departed this life on the 21st of this month, in the 76th year of his age, Joseph Stansbury, of Anne Arundel Co. (Dec. 28).

1821

DAVIDSON, CADET PINKNEY—Died at West Point on the 17th inst. [Jan.] Cadet Pinkney Davidson, of Annapolis, Md., aged 18 years. (Feb. 1).

BOWIE, THOMAS H.—Died on Tuesday night [Feb. 6] Thomas H. Bowie, attorney at law, and late Register of Chancery. (Feb. 8).

GLOVER, WILLIAM—Married on Sunday evening last [Feb. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Emory, William Glover, to Miss Mary Ann Beard, all of this city. (March 1).

WHITE, JAMES—Married on Sunday evening last [Feb. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, James White, of this city, to Miss Eliza Sifton, of the county. (March 1).

EMMERSON, PATRICK HENRY—Died on the 20th inst., Patrick Henry Emmerson, of this city, son of Hon. Peter Emmerson, Senator of Md., in the 21st year of his age. (March 29).

BROUGHTON, KNELM—Married on Thursday evening last [March 29] by the Rev. Mr. Watkins, Knelm Broughton to Miss Mary Simmons, all of this city. (April 5).

M'NEIR, WILLIAM—Married on Tuesday evening last [April 17] in Baltimore, by the Rev. Mr. Henshaw, William M'Neir, of

this city, to Miss Mary Ann Maccubbin, of the former place. (April 19).

CALLAHAN, MISS MARY—Died in this city on Thursday evening [April 19] Miss Mary Callahan, at an advanced age. (April 26).

SCHAEFFER, MISS ANN MARIA—Died in this city on Wednesday the 1st inst., Miss Ann Maria Schaeffer, youngest daughter of Baltzer Schaeffer, in the 17th year of her age. (Aug. 9).

HARWOOD, MRS. MARGARET—Died in this city on Friday the 24th inst., in the 76th year of her age, Mrs. Margaret Harwood, relict of the late Thomas Harwood. (Aug. 30).

DAVIS, MISS MARY—Died on the 7th inst., at the house of John Comegys, in Sassafras Neck, Cecil Co., Miss Mary Davis, of this city, daughter of the late Naylor Davis, of Prince-George's Co. (Aug. 30).

MERCER, COLONEL JOHN F.—Died on the night of the 30th inst., at Philadelphia, in the 64th year of his age, Colonel John F. Mercer, of West River, Md. At a very early age, Col. Mercer took up arms in the defense of his country, and after the close of the war was sent from Virginia, his native State, as a delegate to the Old Congress. On his marriage, he removed to Maryland, where he commenced the practice of law; but he was soon appointed by the Legislature of Maryland a Member of the Convention which framed our present Constitution. Some years after he was chosen a Member of the House of Representatives, from the Congressional District of Maryland; and after a short interval the public voice raised him to the arduous and distinguished station of Governor of the State and having honourably and impartially fulfilled this duty, he returned to private life, until he was elected a member of the House of Delegates in the General Assembly of Maryland. He was in Philadelphia to consult a physician about his health. His remains were deposited in the church yard of St. Peter's in Philadelphia. (Sept. 13).

MATTINGLY, CAPTAIN EDWARD—Died on Wednesday, the 5th inst., in the 69th year of his age, Captain Edward Mattingly, an officer of the Revolution. In early life he entered the tented field in the defence of our rights and in the eventful

struggle aided to establish American liberty. He has since lived in retirement in St. Mary's Co. (Sept. 20).

WILLIAMS, JOHN—Married on Sunday evening last [Nov. 4] by the Rev. Mr. Welch, John Williams, to Miss Maria Selby, all of this county. (Nov. 8).

LECOMPTE, BENJAMIN W.—Died at Cambridge, Dorchester Co., on the 22d inst., Benjamin W. Lecompte, in the 35th year of his age. He was for many years an able and faithful representative of that county in the State Legislature. (Nov. 29).

DAVIDSON, LIEUT. JOHN—Died at St. Augustine, East Florida, on the 12th Nov. last, Lieut. John Davidson, of the 11th Regiment of the U. S. Artillery, a native of this city. (Dec. 13).

CHAPMAN, MAJOR HENRY H.—Died in Georgetown, Major Henry H. Chapman, of that place, a soldier of the Revolution. He had filled various public offices in the State of Maryland, whence he removed about two years ago. A wife and nine children survive. (Dec. 13).

ROGERS, THOMAS—Died in this city, on Saturday night last [Dec. 15] in the 40th year of his age, Thomas Rogers, clerk of the Senate of this State. (Dec. 20).

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Charles Willson Peale. Volume II [;] *Later Life* (*1790-1827*). By Charles Coleman Sellers. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1947. 468 pp. $5.00.

The appearance in 1939 of the first volume of the life of Charles Willson Peale by his great-great grandson, Charles Coleman Sellers, was warmly welcomed by those interested in early American painting. A second volume by the same author is equally welcome. Peale, one of the outstanding American painters of the last third of the eighteenth century, extended his artistic activities into the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In the previous volume Mr. Sellers chronicled Peale's varied career and accomplishments for the first fifty years of his life. This productive period coincided with the last decade of the colonial era, the American Revolution, and the critical years which followed down to the inauguration of Washington. During this time he painted the portraits of so many of those conspicuous in civil and military affairs, and these in such an admirable manner, that he has been appropriately called "the Painter of the American Revolution." These were also the most productive years in his career as a painter.

He was born in 1741 in Queen Anne's County on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. After an apprenticeship in his teens to an Annapolis saddler, which was followed by two years in London in the study of painting under Benjamin West, he returned to Annapolis in 1769 to practice his profession. This little city was again for seven years his home. It was from there that he made frequent painting trips to sundry parts of Maryland and to Virginia. Soon after the outbreak of the Revolution, at the age of thirty-five, he removed with his family to Philadelphia, which was thereafter to be his home. There he was commissioned a lieutenant and soon afterwards a captain in the Pennsylvania militia. While still in service he found opportunity to paint many miniatures and portraits of officers. He seems to have been especially active with his brush at Valley Forge in the terrible winter of 1777-1778. At the end of the war he returned to Philadelphia and soon afterwards opened his gallery of painting.

The recently published second volume of the Peale biography begins with the year 1790 and carries down the story of an extraordinarily active and versatile life until his death in 1826 at the age of eighty-four.

Mr. Sellers in the preparation of his excellent biography has made use of Peale's diaries and letterbooks as well as of an autobiography written in

his latter years, all of which are now owned by the American Philosophical Society, under whose auspices this volume was published. He has also been indefatigable in his researches in contemporary newspapers and other source material. He has produced two most readable and entertaining books which are not only accurate and comprehensive, but are uninfluenced by the relationship of the author to the subject. There has been no suppression of unpleasant facts and we are asked to laugh with him at his ancestor's many foibles. Both volumes are illustrated with numerous examples of Peale's brush and pencil.

The period covered by this last volume, 1790-1826, shows a lessening interest in painting and an increasing absorption in the affairs of the new museum which he established in Philadelphia in the early 90's. Although its walls were embellished with numerous portraits of American celebrities, it gradually became more and more a museum of natural history and of what he called "natural curiosities." The exhuming of the skeleton of a mastodon and its exhibition in the museum became a matter of more than national interest.

Unending struggles to support a large family on admission fees to the museum obliged him reluctantly to take up his brush and set out upon several painting expeditions to Maryland in order to keep the wolf from the door. We are told of his happy married life with three wives and of his pathetic attempt at the age of eighty-four, just before his death in 1826, to secure a fourth wife, a lady for whom he had made a set of false teeth. Of his sixteen children, Rembrandt notably and Raphael and Titian to a lesser degree, attained distinction as painters.

Peale's experiments in improving painting technique and pigments, as well as various mechanical inventions, ranging from false teeth to stone bridges, were of absorbing interest to him. In politics he tended definitely towards the left, often too much so to please Philadelphia conservatives. He was a most lovable person. In temperament he is well described by the author as sensitive, enthusiastic, and affectionate.

J. Hall Pleasants

Thomas Jefferson and the National Capital: Containing Notes and Correspondence exchanged between Jefferson, Washington, L'Enfant, Ellicott, Hallet, Thornton, Latrobe, the Commissioners and others, relating to the founding, surveying, planning, designing, constructing, and administering of the City of Washington, 1783-1818. Edited by Saul K. Padover. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946. 522 pp.

This volume, Dr. Padover's fourth in a series based on extracts from the writings of Thomas Jefferson, shows Jefferson's part in the conception and construction of the National Capital. The more than 360 documents quoted therein in full or in part, lead to the inevitable conclusion that to

him, as much as to any one man, belongs the credit for providing the guiding genius for the early development of the City of Washington and the District of Columbia.

When the question of a permanent location for the government arose during the days of the Confederation, Jefferson was anxious that the accompanying honor and economic advantage would be bestowed on his native state, Virginia. Fearful lest its rival in trade, Maryland, would outbid it, he wrote the Governor of Virginia in November, 1783, "considering the residence of Congress therefore as it may influence trade, if we cannot obtain it on the Potomac it seems to be our interest to bring it past all the waters of the Chesapeak bay." By means of his "bargain" with Hamilton on the Assumption Bill, Jefferson found himself in the advantageous position in 1790 to accomplish his ambition.

With the final decision to build the capital in the South, Jefferson, because of his interest in architecture, his friendship with Washington, his position as Secretary of State and later as President, played a dominant role in the formulation and execution of the plans. No detail was too minor to elicit his attention and advice. The letters reflect his interest in decisions ranging from whether the "stoups" of the common residences should project into the streets, to which would be the most appropriate type of marble for the Senate Chamber. He listened alike to the complaints of a disgruntled mason, the bickering between the temperamental L'Enfant and the City Commissioners, and the woes of the unhappy Latrobe. Even as President he was continually harassed by the problems evolving from an always inadequate building fund, delays by inclement weather, demands of an impatient Congress, and the handsome but poorly conceived plans of Dr. Thornton. Nor did the termination of his active role in the government end his concern for the city.

Many of the book's shortcomings are probably explained by Dr. Padover's absence in the armed service which necessitated his assistants' compiling the work from his notes. The volume needs more careful editing. The inclusion of an index and more detailed headnotes and footnotes would have greatly improved it. As it now stands, many interesting questions raised by the letters go unanswered. Each reader, according to his special interests, will complain of some omission. I, for one, would have liked to have seen at least a footnote on the activities of the notorious Samuel Blodget, who, with his lottery to provide the city with buildings, involved President Washington and the Commissioners in many embarrassing situations.

On at least three occasions the compiler nodded for there are duplications of material—the same letter quoted under different dates. In each case one of the pair relies on a primary source and the other on a secondary one. For example, on pages 173 and 183 letters from the Commissioners to Jefferson contain identical information but are given the dates February 7, 1793, and July 7, 1793. The first is taken from the Commissioners' *Letterbook* and the second from William Tindall's *Standard History of the City of Washington*. A random comparison of the text with two of his principal sources causes only one criticism, and that perhaps a picayune

one. Nowhere is the fact indicated that the letters are not complete, *per se*, but are in many cases extracts of pertinent material from longer letters.

Despite the flaws noted above, the volume stands as a worthwhile contribution to historical literature. Though no claim is made to present much that was previously unpublished, it does have the advantage of making the greater bulk on this subject more accessible. It admirably treats a phase of Jefferson's lesser known activities and sheds new light on some of the problems of our early government.

JOHN S. EZELL

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Annapolis Houses, 1700-1775. By DEERING DAVIS, A. I. D. Foreword by Joseph Mullen, A. I. D. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc., [1947]. 124 pp. $5.00.

This is a valuable addition to the growing list of books dealing with Annapolis and should be particularly interesting to architects, antiquarians and others concerned with the Georgian-type house and its variations. Americans generally refer to such houses as "colonial"; and so they are, since nearly all of them in Maryland and in Virginia were built in the late 1600's and the 1700's up to about the time of the Revolution. Annapolis fortunately possesses more of this type of house than any other city anywhere near its size in the nation, with the possible exception of Williamsburg, Va. . . . and Williamsburg has had the advantage of a princely grant from the Rockefellers to preserve its heritage of colonial buildings. Annapolis, although it has had no Rockefeller millions, has done very well indeed in preserving its links with the historic past.

Mr. Davis, an architect with a notable appreciation of the beauties of Georgian domestic architecture as it developed in America, has devoted his book largely to a series of photographs illustrating the best in colonial architecture in Annapolis. The architectural glories of such buildings as the Hammond-Harwood house, the Chase-Lloyd house, Whitehall, Montpelier, the Brice house, and a dozen others are described and pictured in detail. That has never been done before in any popular book dealing with Annapolis, and gives a vastly added value to the present volume.

Especially interesting is a photograph of the Maryland State House so retouched that the great wooden dome is removed. Any Marylander who has ever wondered what the building would look like if it existed without the towering dome will be agreeably surprised. The State House emerges as a chaste colonial building in the classical tradition, with the clean-cut lines that are characteristic of that type of architecture and with a simple charm that makes one speculate if it wouldn't be a good idea to tear down the dome altogether.

In his text comparing Annapolis with Williamsburg Mr. Davis discusses the architectural heritage of both towns, and by no means to the disadvantage of Annapolis, either. He also shows how the genius of Wil-

liam Buckland, the English architect who built various notable houses in Virginia and Maryland, influenced the design of the " great houses " of Annapolis.

Perhaps Mr. Davis could be persuaded to produce a book on the great houses of the Eastern Shore, particularly those of Talbot and Kent counties . . . houses such as Ratcliffe Manor, Wye House, Gross' Coate, The Abbey and Widehall.

JAMES C. MULLIKIN

Across the Years in Prince George's County. By EFFIE GWYNN BOWIE. Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, Inc. [1947]. 904 pp. $12.50.

Our neighbor, Virginia, has for many years supplied her sons and daughters with good county histories and accurate genealogy. Maryland continues to offer opportunity to scholar and antiquarian in completing our local history. It is said that Mrs. Bowie has spent thirty years delving into records and collecting the material for this book while at the same time she " raised " a family of seven children! Modest as are the personal recollections which open this volume, they give insight into the characteristics of a true historian,—interest in people and the details of their lives, vigilance for fact and an orderly mind.

The larger part of the book is devoted to genealogy. 32 family lines have been compiled by the author to which has been added a work long out of print, *The Bowies and Their Kindred* by the late Walter Worthington Bowie, edited and brought up to date. While it is difficult for any but a professional genealogist to judge rapidly the immense amount of data, it would seem that it had been painstakingly traced and backed up by documentary evidence wherever possible. Deeds, wills, tombstones, family letters and local memorabilia are quoted in full.

The 82 illustrations are well selected and serve in themselves as a valuable record, for portraits are so rapidly scattered to the four winds and many of these old county houses have already disappeared. There is also an excellent index for which every reader will be grateful. The format is attractive and the reading of the text, arranged informally, and, of the print, is effortless.

Many people have the interest but few the knowledge and perseverence to spend the necessary years on a work of this kind. Mrs. Bowie is to be congratulated on the successful termination of her labor of love. All readers having Maryland at heart will rejoice at the completion of this excellent record of the people and places of one of our most interesting and historic counties.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE

NOTE: The author of the book requests that readers be warned of the transposition of a paragraph by the printer on page 782 of *Across the Years*. The paragraph in small type at the middle of the page, beginning: " Issue: 1. Eleanor Maria Estep, m. W. H. Hall," etc., properly belongs at the end of the last footnote at the bottom of the same page—*Ed.*

Learning How to Behave: A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books. By ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. New York: Macmillan, 1947. $2.00.

This work of only ninety-five pages, including an index, is filled with matter of interest. From it we learn, for example, that Andrew Jackson, far from being rude and awkward, was a man of "urbane and courtly demeanor." Written in a charming style, where it might have been heavy, *Learning How To Behave* has a serious undertone as befits a subject that is fundamentally serious. Humor, in its proper place, is not lacking in this delightful book, which should be read for entertainment as well as for instruction. Dr. Schlesinger traces the history of American manners and education in manners from the earliest times to the present. He tells about the breaking down of formality, the departure of elegance, due to two great wars and a "depression," an all but servantless age. (We could wish that he had enlightened us as to the history and progress of the word "help" as a substitute for "servant," a concession to the feelings of servants. It savors of the Middle West. Did it come from there?). He touches upon the stages by which that remarkable woman, Mrs. Emily Post, has kept pace with changing times, while maintaining her dignity. Dr. Schlesinger seems to be rather optimistic about the passing of formality and elegance. He points out that in business there is even now a trend in the direction of more "etiquette." After all, Americans are a kindly and well meaning people. They don't want to be formal, but they do want to be polite. Whatever is of permanent worth in manners was destined to be democratized in our country, along with other good things, and Mrs. Post has done much to further this cause. The haughty attitude expressed by Oscar Wilde in some such words as these, "If he is a gentleman, he knows enough. If he is not a gentleman, all he knows is too much," will not get a man very far in America in these days.

W. B. MARYE

Delaware History. CHARLES L. REESE, JR., Editor. Wilmington, Del.: The Historical Society of Delaware, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1946. Single, semi-annual copies, $1.00.

It is always a happy task to welcome a newcomer into the field of history—doubly so when the publication is one of merit and fills an obvious need. The stated aims of this magazine devoted solely to the history of Delaware are to stimulate the study and writing of the state's history and to increase the interest of her people in their common heritage. This it hopes to do by providing a vehicle by means of which the source materials as well as the articles on Delaware history may be made available to scholars in general.

Thus far the Society has fulfilled its purpose well, for a substantial part of each issue carries letters or manuscript material. The articles on the state's history are both interesting and well chosen, and fill in many of

the gaps which still exist in the century and a half of Delaware historical writing. The format which the magazine has chosen is one of the most attractive we have seen—the well arranged, uncrowded pages in Caslon type lend themselves admirably to easy reading. The last section in each issue of *Delaware History* contains news notes and book reviews, mentioning incidents and publications of Delaware interest. Other publications in the historical field could do far worse than to emulate the makeup and editorial policy of this new historical journal.

HOWARD J. STROTT

OTHER RECENT BOOKS RECEIVED

Ebenezer, 1847-1947: Memorial Souvenir of the Centennial Commemoration of Dutch Immigration to the United States Held in Holland, Michigan, 13-16 August, 1947. [N. Y.:] Centennial Commission of Holland, Michigan, 1947. [43 pp.].

The Lawd Sayin' the Same: Negro Folk Tales of the Creole Country. By HEWITT LEONARD BALLOWE. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press [1947]. 254 pp. $2.75.

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONTRIBUTORS

The REVEREND PHILIP B. CLAYTON, Companion of Honour, holder of the Military Cross, is not only the energetic and able vicar of the Church of which he writes, but also one of the most widely known Anglican Churchmen of Great Britain. He is chaplain to His Majesty the King and Founder Padre of Toc H. He is currently renewing acquaintance with American friends on a tour of the United States. ☆ Native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Brown University, MR. MILNE served four years as an officer in the Navy and now is an instructor in English at Harvard University. He holds A.M. degrees from both Brown and Harvard and is a candidate at the latter for the doctorate in English ☆ MR. PAUL is a vice-president of the Society, president of the board of the Baltimore Museum of Art and member of the board of various Maryland institutions. ☆ A recent recruit to the Society's library staff, MR. STROTT is a Marylander, a former instructor in the Army Air Forces, graduate of Loyola College and holder of a master's degree in history from St. Louis University. ☆ MR. MARTIN was identified in our last issue.

The American Association for State and Local History, organized in 1940, serves as a clearing house of information and ideas for state and local historical societies. As an institutional member of the Association,

the Maryland Historical Society receives the bulletin and journal of the former, as well as monographs dealing with special phases of work in this field. The attention of educators is specially invited to the issues of *American Heritage* which are devoted to discussion of classroom aids and techniques for encouraging the interest of young people in local history. Membership in the A. A. S. L. H. is open to all. The dues are $3 a year. Contributing memberships are $10 and Sustaining $25. Interested persons should write Earle W. Newton, Secretary, State House, Montpelier, Vermont. Mr. Newton is the director of the Vermont Historical Society.

The Mystery of the Horn Papers

The publication in December, 1945, of the three volumes entitled *The Horn Papers: Early Westward Movement on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio, 1765-1795*, created a mild furor among historians of the Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia region. Priced at $30.00, many libraries found them too expensive to acquire. Others who had secured them, on the basis of the prospectus, found themselves dubious about statements contained in the books. Still others declared that the alleged diaries, letters and maps, purporting to recite events in Western Pennsylvania and Maryland, about the time of the founding of Hagerstown, were pure inventions. The Institute of Early American History and Culture, of Williamsburg, Virginia, appointed a committee to evaluate the volumes. The representative for the Maryland Historical Society on this committee was Mr. William B. Marye. The other members were: Dr. Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States, Chairman; Mr. Arthur Pierce Middleton, Executive Secretary; Messrs. Douglass Adair; Francis L. Berkeley, Jr.; Julian P. Boyd; Lester J. Cappon; Lawrence Henry Gipson; Franklin F. Holbrook; Charles F. Jenkins and Delf Norona.

The report of the committee, published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* for October, 1947, makes clear that the Horn Papers are unique in American historical literature. The investigation embraced study of factual statements contained in the work, internal discrepancies and anachronistic and doubtful words and praises, chemical analysis of paper and of objects of alleged 18th century origin. To quote the report:

"Time and time again as the Committee members considered the bulk and complexity of the papers and resurveyed the mountain of artifacts, they marvelled that in this enormous mass nothing genuine could be found. Moreover, no reason offered to account for the manufacture of this elaborate and massive corpus of material satisfied the Committee. On the face of it, the whole affair seemed impossible. Research in the history of famous forgeries, however, indicated that what appeared to be impossible had happened repeatedly."

The Committee concludes that it is satisfied:

"(1) That the documents printed in The Horn Papers show numerous signs of being fabrications; (2) that they are studded with anachronisms,

words that are doubtful for the time, phrases that have a nineteenth rather than an eighteenth century ring, and historically impossible statements of facts; (3) that they contain a number of internal discrepancies; (4) that from a purely stylistic point of view there is evidence that all the documentary material in *The Horn Papers* was written by the same person; (5) that the so-called surviving original manuscripts upon which *The Horn Papers* are based—the Camp Cat Fish Court Docket, 1772-1774, and the three maps that purport to be of the period 1751-1795—are recent fabrications. . . ."

The Committee has nothing but praise for Volume III, containing warrant, survey, and patent maps prepared by the Pennsylvania Land Office and relating to Greene and Washington Counties, stating that "the Greene County Historical Society rendered a real service . . . by publishing these maps."

On receiving the prospectus the Maryland Historical Society gave due consideration to purchase of *The Horn Papers* for its library and decided against such action.

Lockerman Family Notes: The Florida Line

By James Loockerman Taylor, Jr.

Descendants of the Florida branch of the Lockerman (Loockerman) family of Maryland, wishing to trace their ancestry back to the founder of that family, Dr. Jacob Lockerman (c. 1652-1750), son of the immigrant, Govert Loockermans (1603-1670), are confronted with a statement in the late Dr. Joseph S. Ames' genealogy of the Lockerman family according to which an unidentified Edward Lockerman, of Cambridge, Maryland, married, c. 1795-1800, Margaret Bayley, by whom he had issue a number of children (all named), all of whom, about 1830, settled in Florida.[1] Among these children Dr. Ames mentions a daughter, Mary Lockerman, who married (1) Edward Chandler; (2) Dr. John Bradford Taylor.[2]

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[1] Loockerman Genealogy, by Dr. Joseph S. Ames, in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II, 298, note 2.

[2] According to *The Norris Family in Maryland*, by Thomas M. Myers 1916), p. 31, John Norris married Susannah Bradford, by whom he had a daughter, Susannah, born May 10, 1753, who married George Taylor and had issue: Susan Taylor, Mary Taylor, Ann Louisa Taylor (m. H. W. Gray), and Bradford Taylor, who married a Miss Hemp. According to a letter written in 1905 by the late James Loockerman Taylor, Sr., father of James Loockerman Taylor, Jr. and son of Dr. John Bradford Taylor, his (the writer's) paternal grandmother was a Miss Norris, of Baltimore County. According to the same authority, Dr. John Bradford Taylor had a sister, Susan Taylor, who always called him "Bradford." James Loockerman Taylor, Sr., had a younger sisted named Annie *Grey* Taylor. It seems very likely, therefore, that John Bradford Taylor, was the son of George and Susannah (Norris) Taylor. He studied medicine in Philadelphia, 1810-1811, saw service in the War of 1812 as Surgeon's Mate, Fifth Maryland Militia, was in the battle of Bladensburg, at North Point and the storming of Fort McHenry. He resided for a time in Baltimore, where he married, 2 December, 1812, Sarah Camp, his first wife. ("Hemp" of the Norris genealogy is porbably an error for "Camp.")

This statement concerning Mrs. Taylor and the other children whom Dr. Ames attributes to Edward Lockerman, is undoubtedly an error in that, according to a Lockerman family Bible, now in the possession of Miss Winifred Lockerman Turville, of Detroit, Michigan, these same children were the offspring of Thomas Lockerman and his wife, Peggy Bayly, of Cambridge, Maryland. Contributory evidence is to be found in the register of Dorchester Parish, Dorchester County, where the births of James Lockerman, Charlotte Haynie Lockerman, Henrietta Haynie Lockerman, Mary Lockerman, and Thomas B. Lockerman, children of Thomas and Peggy (or Margaret) Lockerman, are recorded.

Mr. James Loockerman Taylor, Jr., who contributes the following notes and records, is the grandson of Dr. John Bradford Taylor and Mary (Lockerman) Taylor, his wife. The objects of this contribution are: (1) to correct the error above mentioned; (2) to give to the public an interesting old Bible record not heretofore published; (3) to show that Thomas Lockerman, of Cambridge, Maryland, was the son of Thomas Lockerman, senior, of Dorchester County, Maryland (1747-post 1806), whose place in the Lockerman line is established in Dr. Ames' genealogy.[3]

William B. Marye

The Lockerman Bible, giving family of Thomas Lockerman, is now in Detroit, Michigan, being a valued heirloom. Statement by present owner, as to history of this Bible and with photostats of pages on which records had been written by hand, is now with the Maryland Historical Society. The Bible was printed in 1809. The written records commence with Thomas Lockerman and Peggy Bayly, and list issue as:

Thomas Lockerman, born 31 October, 1771: died 26 October, 1826, Cambridge, Md. Married 3 May, 1804, Peggy Bayly, born 10 January, 1780: died 10 June, 1823, Cambridge, Md.

Issue:

Elizabeth Leah Lockerman, born 12 November 1805; died 29 November, 1834, Tallahassee, Fla. Married Edward Lockerman 26 October, 1831, Cambridge, Md.

Charlotte Haynie Lockerman, born 18 October, 1807; died 14 June, 1838, lost on Steamer *Pulaski* on passage to Balimore. Married James

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Prior to 1836 he emigrated to Tallahassee, Florida, with his wife and children, his brothers and sisters. There he resided and practiced medicine, until his death, which occurred in 1864. On July 16th, 1846, he married Mary (Lockerman) Chandler, widow of Edward M. Chandler, and daughter of Thomas and Peggy (or Margaret) (Bayly) Lockerman, both deceased, late of Cambridge, Maryland.

[3] Thomas Lockerman, Sr., whose death appears to have occurred between 1806 and 1809, married not less than twice. Thomas Lockerman, Jr., seems to have been the only surviving child of a wife whose family name and Christian name are both unknown. At the time when he made his will, Thomas Lockerman, Sr., had a wife named Francis (maiden name unknown to this writer), who was the mother of all the rest of his children. (See petition of Henry and Susan Pattison, 21 March, 1814, recorded at Cambridge, Maryland, in Liber E. R. No. 3, f. 176 *et seq.* A copy of Thomas Lockerman's will is included with this petition.)

Edwin Stewart 16 May, 1832, Cambridge, Md., who died 18 June, 1838, on wreck of *Pulaski*. Children:

Samuel Hodson Stewart, born 6 April, 1834; died 21 July, 1835, Tallahassee, Fla.

Samuel Hodson Stewart, born 30 July, 1836; died 14 June, 1838, with his mother.

Henrietta Haynie Lockerman, born 9 November 1809; died 7 November, 1862, New Orleans, La. Married Joseph B. Brown, of Scotland, 9 August, 1840, Tallahassee, Fla., who died 13 October, 1863, London, Ontario. Children:

Thomas Lockerman Brown, born 19 June, 1841: died 23 March, 1861, Tallahassee, Fla.

Jane Murdoch Brown, born 30 September, 1844, Jefferson County, Fla.: died 25 May, 1932, Wallacetown, Ontario. Married George Turville, of London, Ontario, 30 September, 1869, who died 19 January, 1938. Children:

Sydney Stewart Turville, born 13 August, 1870; died 3 February, 1936.

Ettie Lockerman Turville, born 15 August, 1872; married.

Jessie Turville, born 27 November, 1874; died 1 November, 1934.

Winifred Lockerman Turville, born 21 December, 1877.

Hampden Haynie Brown, born 14 December 1846; died 23 June, 1847.

Mary Lockerman, b. 30 January, 1812. Married Edward M. Chandler, 12 January, 1834, Tallahassee, Fla., who died 25 May, 1836. Children: Elizabeth Leah Lockerman Chandler, born 18 January, 1835.

Note: Not recorded in this Bible, but Mary Lockerman married (second) Doctor John Bradford Taylor, 16 July, 1846, at Tallahassee, Fla., where she died during 1865. Children:

James Loockerman Taylor, born 25 July, 1847; died 15 July, 1925. Adele Gertrude Taylor.

Annie Gray Taylor, born 12 July, 1854; died 1917.

James Bayly Lockerman, born 12 December 1813; died 14 October, 1814.

Thomas Bayly Lockerman, born 20 September, 1815; died 17 August, 1839, Tallahassee, Fla.

James Fisher Lockerman, born 26 September, 1818.

Examination of grantor deeds recorded at Cambridge, Md., for period 29 March, 1774, to 22 July, 1805, shows 16 deeds by "Thomas Lockerman," of which 9 were undoubtedly by the Senior, as indicated by 3 with release of dower by Fannie, one of very early date, and 5 being qualified by Senior or Elder after the name. Four of these 16 deeds are clearly by Thomas, the son or a younger man, by use of Junior or Younger. Remaining 3 are not readily determined. The first deed conveying specifically from Senior to Junior is dated 27 July, 1796, and includes "for natural love and affection" as well as a monetary consideration. The first grantor deed by Thomas Junior is dated 4 December, 1796. The last deed identified by Senior was dated 22 July, 1805, and conveyed to Thomas Lockerman Junior. Records of these 16 deeds contain Senior 5 times, Elder once, Junior 4 times, and Younger twice.

No deeds with Thomas Lockerman as grantor were observed from July, 1805, to 11 January, 1812, from which date to end of 1826 "Thomas

Lockerman " conveyed by 31 deeds, of which 10 were released for dower by Peggy or Margaret. None of these ten released deeds has been identified as covering land previously conveyed by deed " from father to son." One deed, in 1818, undoubtedly conveys land received by will of his father, but no release by wife is on the record. It is significant that last deed released by Margaret is dated February, 1823, and death of Peggy Bayly Lockerman is given as 10 June, 1823, by the Bible record quoted above. A joint deed was made with John H. Hooper, dated 19 March, 1824, some 9 months after recorded death of Peggy Bayly Lockerman, which deed was released by wife of Hooper only, indicating widowhood of Thomas Lockerman at that time. Total 20 deeds by Thomas Lockerman, all without dower release but included in the total 31 made after February, 1823, and prior to end of year 1826. No wording was found in any of the deeds examined, to indicate that there was more than one " younger " individual in Dorchester County bearing name of Thomas Lockerman.

Thomas Lockerman (1771-1826) died intestate, leaving his affairs seriously involved. Suit was brought in July Term, 1828, as evidenced by Chancery Record, Volume 137, folio 537, at Land Office, Annapolis, Md., against Robert Wallace, Administrator, and the children, for payment of debts. Records of the suit list many parcels of land for sale, but none has been readily and positively identified as a parcel previously conveyed by Thomas Lockerman Senior to Thomas Lockerman Junior. Thomas Lockerman the Elder executed only two deeds to Thomas Lockerman his son, both conveying lots in Cambridge. One of these lots was sold by Thomas Lockerman the Younger during lifetime of his father. No record of alienation of the other lot has been found bearing date within life-time of Thomas Lockerman (1771-1826), and this lot is believed to be identical with a certain lot on High Street, Cambridge, sold by Henry Page, Trustee for sale of the real estate of Thomas Lockerman after death in 1826. The Chancery records do state that Thomas Lockerman left children, naming them as Elizabeth L., Charlotte H., Henrietta H., Mary, Thomas B., and James, and that all are infants under the age of 21 except Elizabeth L. Also, that all are residents of Dorchester County except Henrietta H. This Court record agrees with entries in the Bible, and indicates conclusively that the six children were offspring of Thomas Lockerman, and not of Edward Lockerman as shown by the genealogy published in Vol 2 of this Magazine, page 298.

Other records in the Bible show: Jane Murdoch Brown, daughter of Joseph and Henrietta H. Brown, born at Leguan, Jefferson Co., Florida, 30 September, 1844, baptized at Tallahassee, Fla., by the Rev. F. P. Lee, 1846, married at Medway, London, Ontario, by the Rev. G. M. Innes, 30 September 1869, to George Turville of London, Ontario, died 25 May, 1932, at Wallacetown, Ontario. Turville died 19 June 1938, aged 94 yrs.

Winifred L. Turville, owner of the Bible, is the daughter of George and Jane M. Turville. She writes: " This bible is one of my earliest recollections, and family history is that it came, in 1862, into possession of my mother." She adds that the handwriting from 1841 down is by Joseph B. Brown and George Turville.

"*Mt. Clare*"—Since the article by Miss Lilian Giffen appeared in the *Magazine* for last March, Mr. William B. Marye has encountered an interesting entry relating to this estate in the Assessment Return of Caleb Merryman, 1799, for Middlesex Hundred of Baltimore County. This document, in possession of the Society, gives a list of houses, lands and slaves in "Middlesex Hundred." "Mt. Clare" is listed as "part of Georgia," in possession of Margaret Carroll. This was, of course, the former Margaret Tilghman, widow of Charles Carroll, Barrister.

The Return is in two parts. The first shows that there were 1 dwelling house of brick, and 2 outhouses, valued at $5,000; part of the house was of 2 stories, 46 x 36 ft. with a piazza measuring 18 x 8 ft. One addition consisted of a one-story brick wing 34 x 18 ft. Another addition, presumably the opposite wing, was one story of brick and stone 51 x 21 ft. There was also a brick shed 28 x 8, listed as an addition; a green house 26 x 26, described as a one story brick addition; a one story brick shed 39 x 24, a brick wash house, 26 x 26, and four other brick buildings of one story each, all referred to as "additions." The final entries are "1 stone smokehouse 20 x 20, 1 story; 1 stone milk house, 20 x 20, 1 story." The appearance of Mt. Clare, with its two large wings and no less than eight small additions, besides two buildings at a little distance, must have been, to say the least, impressive. This is indicated by the view reproduced in the March *Magazine*, opposite page 30.

The second part of the Return includes the appraisal of the plantation. There were 848 acres, valued at $13,568, and 36 slaves, no value given. Of the 36, 21 were between the ages of 21 and 50.

House and Garden Pilgrimage, Spring, 1948—The Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland have announced that the date for the 1948 tour will be April 25 through May 24. Literature will be available in January.

Eden Family—William Eden, cousin of Sir Robert Eden, settled in Maryland, probably in Kent County. He married Sarah Wells, and had a daughter, Ann Eden, who married Benjamin Armitage in 1805. Any one who knows the date of birth or death of William Eden is asked to communicate with

Mrs. Edmond S. Boice,
534 Falls Road, Rocky Mount, N. C.

Reynolds Family—Am writing history of the Reynolds family (1550-1947). Shall appreciate data from members of the Washington County and Eastern Shore Reynolds lines. The record will include both male and female lines from 1550.

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Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore 1, Maryland, for October, 1947.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Foster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore 1, Md. Editor, James W. Foster, same. Managing Editor, same. Business Manager, same.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

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George L. Radcliffe, President.

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None.

JAMES W. FOSTER,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1947.

T. B. HOFMANN,
Notary Public.

[SEAL]

(My commission expires May 2, 1949.)

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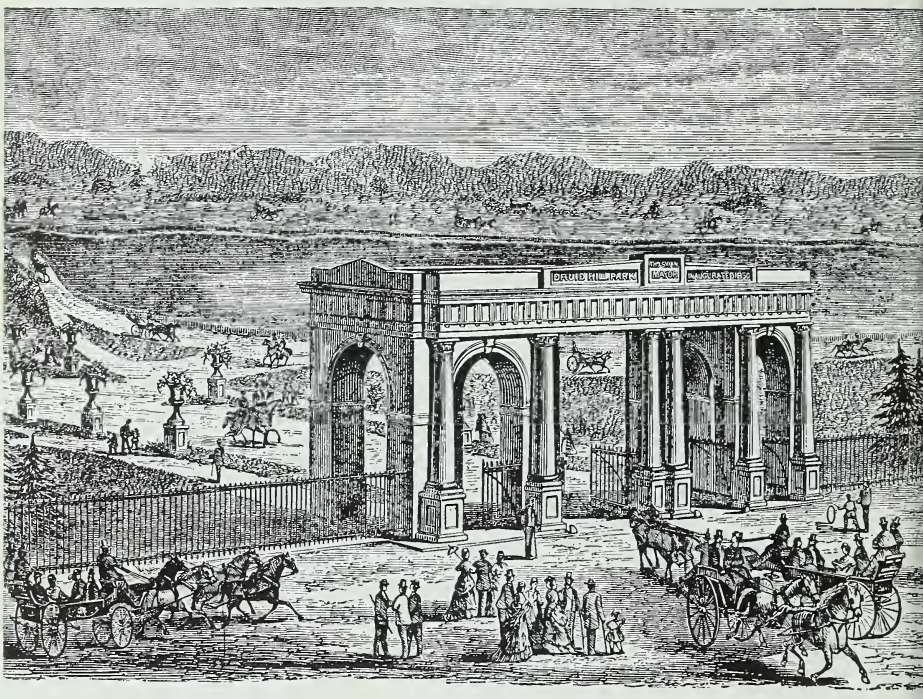

It's almost ninety years since the city commissioners dedicated this Madison Avenue gateway to Druid Hill Park. The horse paths are now asphalt road beds; a magnificent stone and wrought-iron railing has long since replaced the low picket rail around the reservoir. But for all the changes in scenery, the old Roman archway remains intact, sturdy symbol of the community's pride in one of the country's finest natural parks.

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